



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



not disposed to



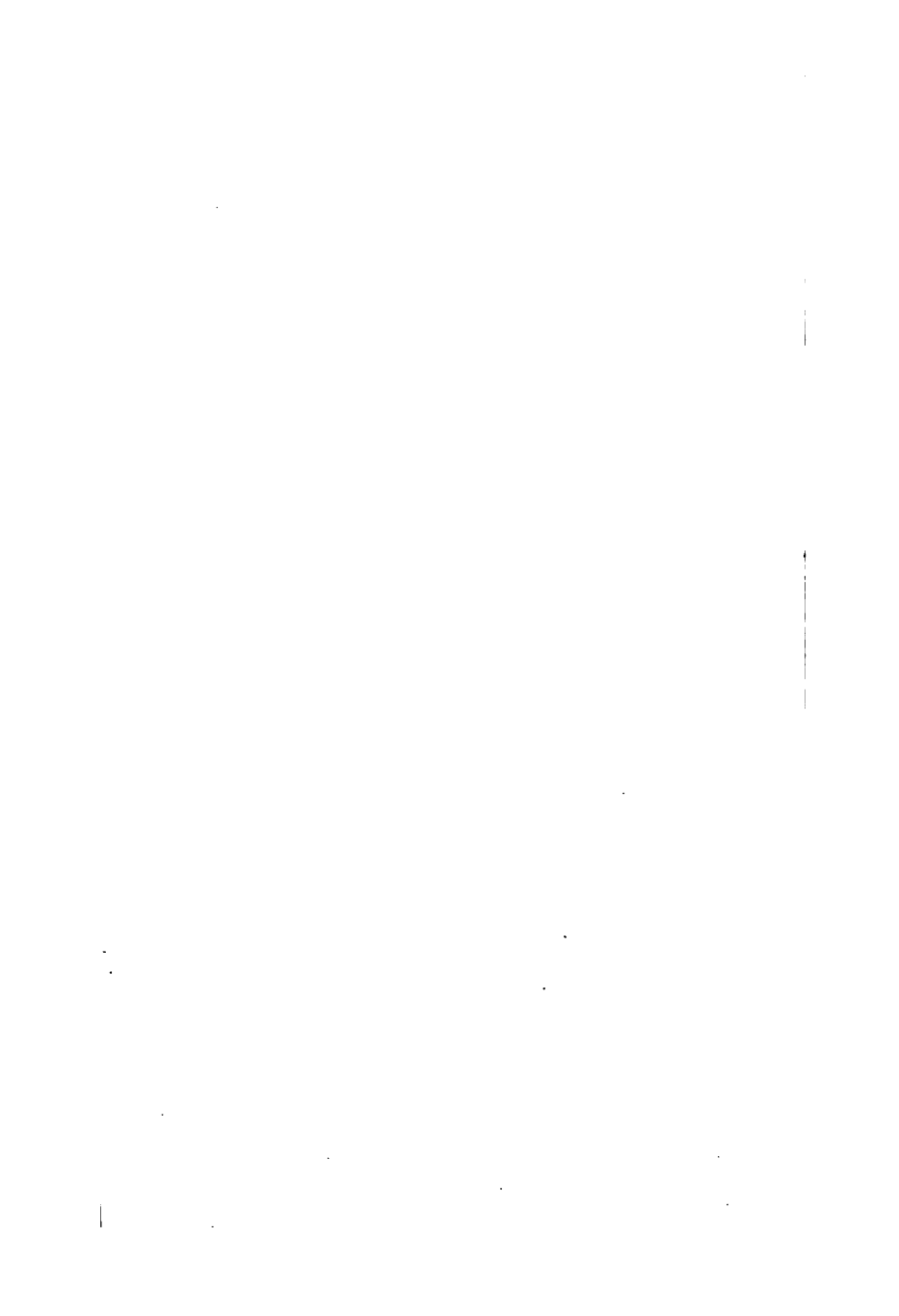
TRANSFERRED  
TO  
HARVARD COLLEGE

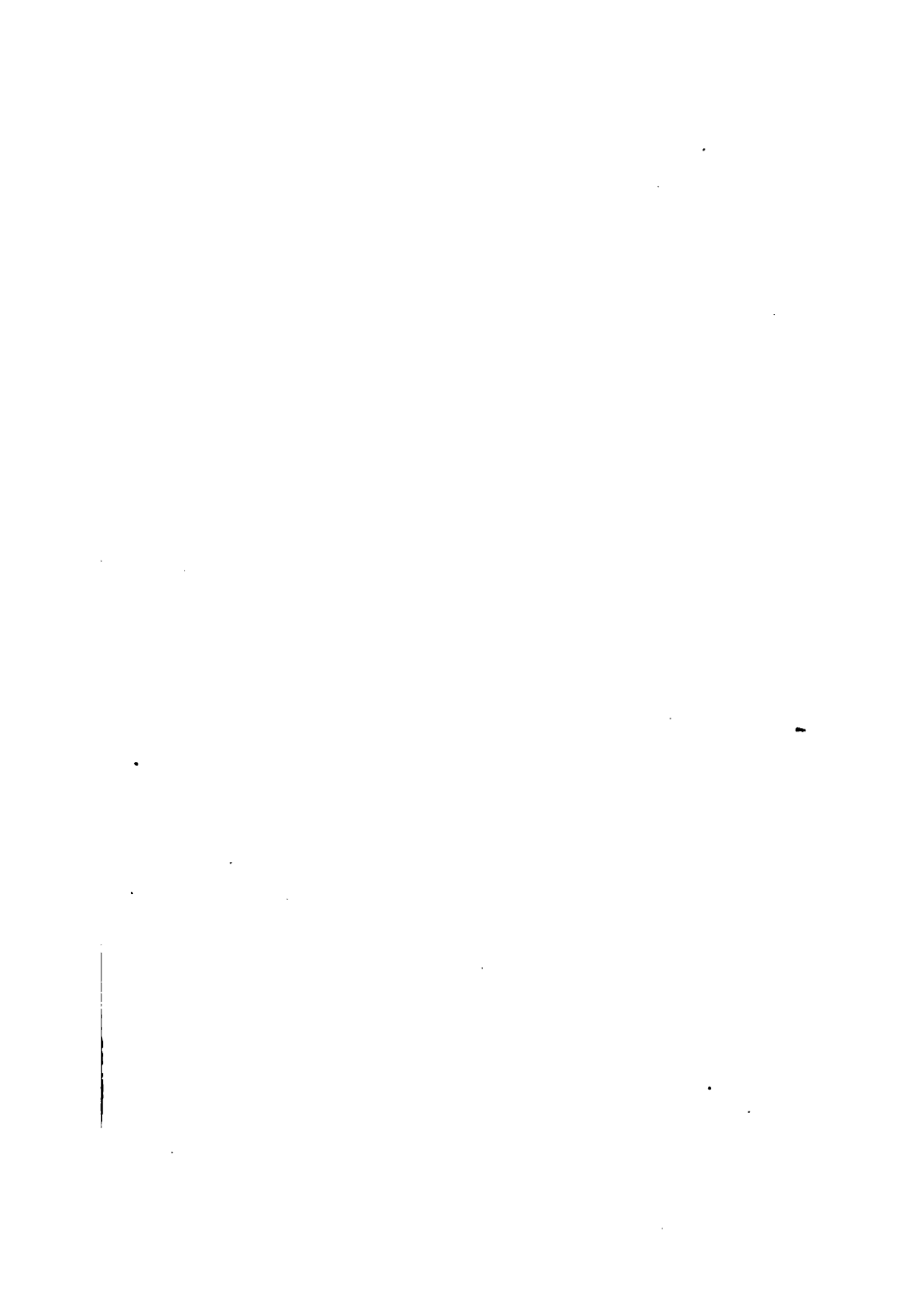
89 cent



3 2044 102 876 547







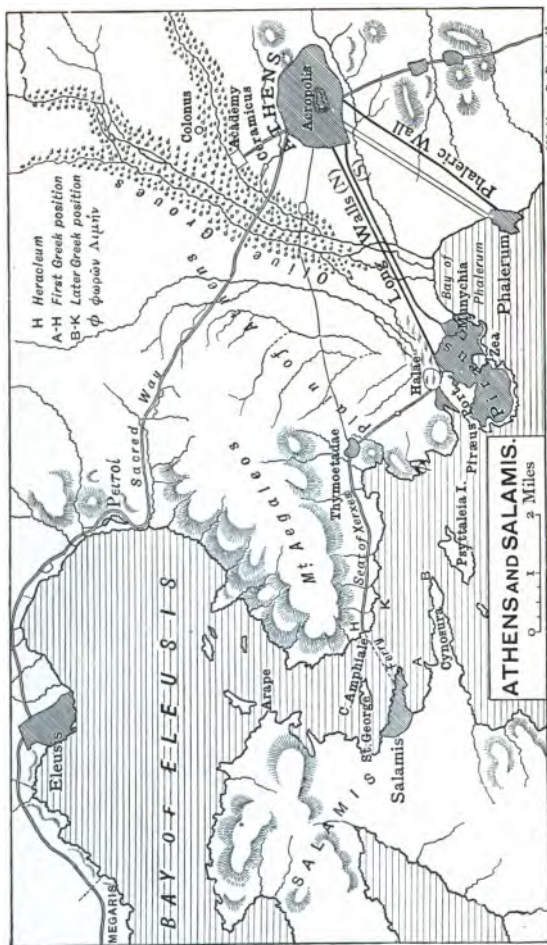


**Classical Series**

PLUTARCH'S  
*LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES*  
HOLDEN







Walker & Boutall sc.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

PLUTARCH'S  
*LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES*

*WITH INTRODUCTION  
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES  
INDICES AND MAP*

BY  
HUBERT ASHTON HOLDEN LL.D.

THIRD EDITION  
REWRITTEN AND ENLARGED

London  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
AND NEW YORK  
1892

*All rights reserved*



EdueT 21275.455.892



*Lowell House Library*

~~PA 4369~~  
~~T4~~

*Printed and Stereotyped by C. J. CLAY & SONS  
at the Cambridge University Press 1881*

*Second Impression (revised) 1884*

*Third Edition (rewritten) printed by R. & R. CLARK, Edinburgh, 1892*

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE original edition of this little book has been so much altered and amplified that the present may be almost regarded as a new publication. When a third Edition was called for in the course of last autumn, it was my wish that some necessary corrections should be made in the stereotyped plates of the first, so that the book might be as free from errors as the printer *spatiis inclusus iniquis* could make it. — The decision of my Publishers, however, to reprint the volume from beginning to end left me at liberty to give it the benefit of a thorough revision, and I have carried the *limae labor* or rather *pruritus corrigendi* to the extent of rewriting most of the Commentary. — The outcome has, I hope, been a volume of more scholarlike form and substance.

The critical notes, instead of being relegated to an Appendix, where they are apt διαφεύγειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, have been placed at the foot of the Text.

F. A. K. 21

The Text itself has been very little altered. In the two former editions, it was based on the best of the Paris MSS (**F**<sup>a</sup>); in the present, it is based upon an older representative (**S**) of the same family, which was collated for the Sintenis-Fuhr edition.

The Introduction remains nearly the same as before; Parts III and IV are, to some extent, an adaptation from the *Einleitung* of Fr. Blass, whose edition has otherwise been of great service to me. It was my intention to have added some observations on Plutarch's style and diction, but the limits of time and space have prevented me from carrying it out.

I cannot lay down my pen without adding my testimony, in confirmation of that of Prof. Tyrrell, concerning the singular merits of Messrs. R. & R. Clark's reader. His unfailing care and unusual accuracy have spared me much labour at a time when I was suffering from prolonged illness.

ATHENÆUM CLUB,  
LONDON, S.W., *February* 24, 1892.

# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	PAGE
I <i>Life of Plutarch</i> . . . . .	xi
II <i>The Parallel Lives</i> . . . . .	xxvi
III <i>The Life of Themistocles</i> . . . . .	xxxii
IV <i>Plutarch's sources of information</i> . . . . .	xxxviii
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS	
IN THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES . . . . .	xlix
THE GREEK TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES . . . . .	1-51
EXEGETICAL NOTES . . . . .	55-180
INDEX I GREEK . . . . .	183-204
INDEX II MATTERS AND GRAMMAR . . . . .	205-214
INDEX III AUTHORS QUOTED . . . . .	214
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA . . . . .	215

ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαίστατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχυρὸν  
δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου  
ἄξιός θ' αὖθις· οἰκεία γὰρ ζυγνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθῶν  
ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθῶν τῶν τε παραχρήμα  
δι' ἐλαχίστης βοῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελ-  
λόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησόμενου ἄριστος  
εἰκαστής· καὶ ἂν μὲν μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχοι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι  
οἷός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος εἴη κρίναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπὸ  
λακτοῦ· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χειρὸν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἐτι  
προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ζῆμψαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως  
μὲν δυνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος  
αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.

THUCYDIDES I 138.

# LIST OF EDITIONS

☆ 1889

- Stephanus (Estienne) H. 13 voll. 8vo Geneva 1572.
- Bryan, A.—Du Soul (Solanus) Moses, 5 voll. 4to London 1723–9.
- Reiske, J. J. 12 voll. 8vo Leipzig 1774–82.
- Koraës, A. 6 voll. 8vo Paris 1809–1814.
- Schäfer, G. H. 6 voll. 12mo Lips. 1825–30.
- Sintenis, C. *Themistocles* with Latin commentary Leipzig 1832.
- „ *Vitae Parallelae* 4 voll. 8vo Leipzig 1839–46.
- „ *Themistocles* with German notes, ed. 4 revised by K. Fuhr (*Haupt-Sauppe Sammlung*) Berlin 1880.
- Döhner, Th. A. F. *Didot Bibliothèque* 2 voll. 4to Paris 1846–7.
- Bekker, Im. *Vitae Par.* Bibl. Tauchnitz. 5 voll. 8vo 1855–7.
- Sintenis, C. *Vitae Par.* Bibl. Teubner. 5 voll. 12mo 1889.
- Amyot, Jacques, *Les Vies . . . par Plutarque etc.* ed. Clavier 25 voll. 8vo Paris 1801–5.
- Kaltwasser, J. F. S. *des Plutarchus vergleichende Lebensbeschreibungen, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt mit Anmerkungen*, 10 voll. 8vo Magdeburg 1799–1806.
- Blass, Fr. *Themistokles und Perikles* in Teubner's *Schulausgaben Klassiker mit deutschen erklärenden Anmerkungen* 2te Aufl. Leipzig 1883.
- Bauer, A. *Plutarchs Themistokles für quellenkritische Übungen* commentiert und herausgegeben von Dr. A. B. Leipzig, Teubner, 1884.

## PRINCIPAL CRITICAL AND LITERARY AIDS

- Heeren, *de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi commentationes IV*, Göttingen 1820, p. 30–p. 46.
- Cobet, C. G. *Mnemosyne* N.S. Vol. VI (1868) p. 143–148.
- Fink, *de Themistoclis, Neoclis filii, Atheniensis aetate, vita, ingenio rebusque gestis*. Göttingen Diss. 1849.
- Schilder, *de rerum scriptoribus, quibus Plutarchus in Themistoclis vita perscribenda usus est*. Progr. d. Gymnas. zu Leobschütz. Breslau 1850.
- Haug, Martin, *die Quellen Plutarchs in den Lebensbeschreibungen der Griechen*, p. 38–p. 49. Tübingen 1854; neue Ausg. 1883.
- Lipsius, *de Them. Plut.* loc. quibusd. Lips. 1858.
- Koutorga, *Mémoire sur le parti Persan dans la Grèce ancienne et le procès de Themistocle*. Paris 1860.
- Nieberding, *duplex quaestio de Themistocle*. Gleiwitz 1864 Progr.
- Otto, *Themistocles Μηδισμοῦ, quem vocant, falso accusatus est*. Paderborn 1865, 1866 Gymnasialprogramm.
- Wolff, *de vita Themistoclis Atheniensis*. Monaster. Diss. 1871.
- Häbler, *Quaestiones Plutarchae duae. II De Plutarchi fontibus in vitis Themistoclis et Aristidis*, Lips. Diss. 1873, p. 22 sqq.
- Albracht, Fr. *de Themistoclis Plutarchi fontibus*. Göttinger Diss. inaug. 1873.
- Grumme, *Quaeritur num Themistocles cum Parusania de Graecia Persarum imperio subicienda consilia iniisse videatur*. Gera 1873.
- Bünger, C. *Theopompea*, Argentorati Diss. 1874, cap. v p. 39 sqq. *Themistocles et Aristides*.
- Mohr, M. *Die Quellen des plutarchischen und nepotischen 'Themistokles' sowie der entsprechenden Abschnitte des Diodor XI 39–43, 54–59, 87, und Justin II 10–15*. Berlin 1879. Göttinger Dissertation.
- Holzappel, *Untersuchungen über die Darstellung der griechischen Geschichte von 489–413 v. Chr. bei Ephoros, Theopomp u. a. Autoren*. Leipzig 1879.
- Schmidt, *das perikleische Zeitalter*, Jena 1879, II p. 112–162, 300 ff. and passim.
- Rühl, Franz, *Thukydides über Themistokles*, Fleckeisen Jahrb. 121 Bd. p. 469.
- Bauer, A. *Themistokles, Studien und Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie und Quellenkunde*. Merseburg 1881.
- Meyer, J. *Über die Quellen des Plutarch in den Lebensbeschreibungen des Themistokles und Aristides*. Allenstein. Progr. 1882.
- Stegmann, Karl, *Über den Gebrauch der Negationen bei Plutarch* Progr. Geestemünde 1882.

## INTRODUCTION

### I *Life of Plutarch*

NOTHING is known of the personal history of Plutarch but what may be gathered from various notices scattered through his own writings.<sup>1</sup> He was born between A.D. 46 and A.D. 51 at Chaeronea in north-west Boeotia, a town small and insignificant, but rich in historical memories. It was one of the five cities in the famous plain, called by his favourite hero Epaminondas 'the dancing-plot of Ares,'<sup>2</sup> at the time when the two great battles<sup>3</sup> which were

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* prooem. ὁ θεσπέσιος Πλούταρχος τὸν τε ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀναγράφει τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐνδιεσπαρμένως καὶ τὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου ('Αμμωνίου) . . . τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καθ' ἑκάστον τῶν βιβλίων κατέσπειρεν, ὥστε, εἴ τις δξυδορκίῃ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀνιχνεύει κατὰ τὸ προσπίπτον καὶ φαινόμενον καὶ σωφρόνως τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀναλέγειτο, δύνασθαι τὰ πλείστα τῶν βεβιωμένων αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι. Cp. M. Octave Gréard *De la morale de Plutarque* ed. 3 Paris 1880 :—Nul écrivain, grec ou latin, n'a fait pour lui ce qu'il avait fait pour tant d'autres ; le Biographe de l'antiquité n'a pas de biographie.

<sup>2</sup> *Marc.* c. 21, 2 "Ἀρεως ὀρχήστραν. Cp. R. Volkmann *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* Berlin 1873 p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> That in B.C. 338 when Philip of Macedon defeated the united forces of the Athenians and Boeotians—a day fatal to the liberties of Greece (Strabo x 2, 37) ; and that in B.C. 86 when Sulla defeated the army of Mithridates (*Sull.* c. 19).



named after it were as yet not fought. Here his family had been settled for many years, and was of good standing and local repute. He speaks incidentally of his great-grandfather (πρόπαππος) Nicarchus recording an incident of the struggle between Antony and Octavius,<sup>4</sup> and makes constant mention of Lamprias, his grandfather, as taking part in the 'Table talk' (συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα), which occupies so considerable a portion of his miscellaneous writings;<sup>5</sup> and of his father, who also was a man of cultivation and could occasionally take part in the discourses on various topics recorded by his son. He had two brothers, Lamprias<sup>6</sup> and Timon.<sup>7</sup> He married, it is not known at what period of his life, Timoxena, daughter of Alexion, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. The eldest and fourth sons died young.<sup>8</sup> To the two survivors, Autobulus and Plutarchus, he dedicated his Treatise 'Concerning the procreation of the soul as discoursed in the *Timaeus* of Plato' (περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχρογονίας). The only daughter, named

<sup>4</sup> *Anton.* c. 68, 3.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. I 5, 5 ἦν δὲ Λαμπρίας, ὁ ἡμέτερος πάππος, ἐν τῷ πίνειν εὐρετικώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λογιώτατος. Cp. IV 5 where he takes part in a discourse on the reasons why the Jews abstain from pork; also I 2, 2, V 2, 6, and *Ant.* c. 28, 2 where he repeats a story told him by the physician Philotas of Amphissa, in illustration of the luxuriousness of Antony's life at Alexandria.

<sup>6</sup> *Symp.* I 2, 5; II 2, 1; VIII 6, 5; IX 5, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Symp.* I 2; II 5. Plutarch gives a touching record of his fraternal affection *Mor.* 487 E:—ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλῶν ἀξίων χάριτος παρὰ τῆς τύχης γεγονότων, ἡ Τιμῶνος εὐνοία τάδελφου πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰλλα καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐντετυχηκότων ἡμῖν, ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συνήθεις ὑμεῖς. Volkmann seeks to identify this brother with the Timon mentioned in a letter of Pliny (I 5, 5).

<sup>8</sup> *Mor.* 609 D.

Timoxena after her mother, died when she was but two years old during her father's temporary absence. It was on this occasion that the affectionate and sensible letter of consolation (παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα)<sup>9</sup> was addressed by Plutarch to his wife, 'showing him' as has been said 'in a very tender and attractive light as a husband and father, and affording us glimpses of a family life, the existence of which we are too apt to forget when taking account of the moral condition of the ancient heathen world.'<sup>10</sup>

Plutarch commenced his studies, when he was about 16 years old, at Athens, under the direction of Ammonius,<sup>11</sup> the syncretist philosopher, with a fellow-student named Themistocles, a descendant of the hero of Salamis.<sup>12</sup> He speaks of his having been at Alexandria,<sup>13</sup> among other places, but it was his visit to Italy and Rome which exercised the greatest influence on his after-life. He makes a general reference to it in his *Life of Demosthenes*,<sup>14</sup> where—after pleading the necessity that an author,

<sup>9</sup> *Mor.* 608 A-612 B.

<sup>10</sup> Archbp. Trench *Five Lectures on Plutarch* p. 32, who compares two striking passages, *Erotic.* c. 24 and *Praec. coniug.* c. 34. Cp. Volkmann *l.c.* p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Ammonius is spoken of as his καθηγητής *Mor.* 70 E, a more honourable term than διδάσκαλος. It appears from *Mor.* 720 D that he was three times chief magistrate (στρατηγός) at Athens. When Nero was travelling in Greece A.D. 66, he acted as his ἐξηγητής over the temple buildings at Delphi.

<sup>12</sup> *Them.* c. 32, 4. Cp. *Mor.* 626 E.

<sup>13</sup> *Mor.* 678 C ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς ἃς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φίλων ἕκαστος ἐστιῶν ἡμῶς ἤκοντας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.

<sup>14</sup> c. 2, 1 ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν μὲν οἰκούντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὐσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διὰ λεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πησιαζόντων ὁψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς συντάγμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν.

who has undertaken to compile a history of some foreign country from materials scattered in different places, should be a resident in some historically famous, cultivated and populous town, where he can have unlimited use of books of all kinds, and where he can also pick up trustworthy information on such particulars as rest on popular tradition—he says of himself:—‘As to myself, I live in a small town and am fond of staying in it, that it may not be the smaller for the absence of a single inhabitant. But when I was in Rome and during my stay in different parts of Italy, I found my time so taken up with the public commissions with which I was charged and with the number of those who flocked to me for instruction, that I had not the leisure to study the Latin language. Consequently, it was not until late and at an advanced period of my life that I began to read works written in Latin.’ Plutarch then proceeds to explain that it was not from words that he learned to discover things, but rather words from familiar things. He professes himself unable to appreciate the beauty, fluency and precision of the Latin language, because to do so would require more pains and practice than he had time for. The fact of his being but an indifferent Latin scholar is pretty evident from the absurd mistakes he makes in the construction, meaning and derivation of words.<sup>15</sup> As to his *χρείαι πολιτικάί*, it is probable that during his stay at Rome he was representative of his native town.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Several instances will be found in my Introduction to *Life of Nicias* p. xxi note 15. See also Sickinger *De linguae latinae apud Plutarchum reliquiis*, Freib. Diss. 1883.

<sup>16</sup> Gréard *l.c.* p. 32 :—‘Tout le temps, qu’il demeura en Italie, il fut, en quelque sorte, le chargé d’affaires de sa ville natale.’

One limit for the date of his visit is given in the Treatise 'On the skill of animals,'<sup>17</sup> where in recording an instance of wonderful sagacity in a dog, which he had himself witnessed in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome, Plutarch expressly mentions the presence of the old Emperor Vespasian (παρὴν γὰρ ὁ γέρων Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου θεάτρῳ). This must have been before the year A.D. 79, in which Vespasian died. Again he relates casually in his *De curiositate*,<sup>18</sup> how on one occasion, when he was lecturing, Arulenus Rusticus, who was put to death A.D. 94 by the Emperor Domitian, was amongst his audience. A passage in the *Symposiaca*<sup>19</sup> seems to show that Plutarch paid more than one visit to Rome, Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόnius εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένη μοι διὰ χρόνον τὸ ὑποδεκτικόν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς κτλ. At that time he was accompanied by his compatriot Philinus. Now we know from the *Life of Poplicola*<sup>20</sup> that Plutarch was again in Greece and at Athens before A.D. 82, the year when the Capitol, which had been burnt down at the death of Vespasian, was restored by Domitian, for he saw there the columns of Pentelican marble destined for that building, which, he continues, when he saw them subsequently at Rome, had been again cut and polished, and lost thereby some of their original symmetry, being too slender. Plutarch therefore must have been at Rome after A.D. 82.

<sup>17</sup> c. 19, *Mor.* 974 A.

<sup>18</sup> c. 15, *Mor.* 522 E.

<sup>19</sup> VIII 7, 1, *Mor.* 727 C.

<sup>20</sup> c. 15, 3 οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μήκος ἔχοντες· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αἰθῆς καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας, ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας <καὶ> τοῦ καλοῦ διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.

We find many other notices also of his presence at Rome scattered throughout his writings, as when he refers to various innovations,<sup>21</sup> or speaks of buildings and localities, which he has seen, such as the sacred island of the Tiber,<sup>22</sup> the temple of Vica Pota,<sup>23</sup> the bronze statue of Titus Quintus Flamininus, opposite the Circus, with the Greek inscription on it,<sup>24</sup> or the market of monstrosities,<sup>25</sup> and the ἀποφράδες πύλαι.<sup>26</sup> In the *Life of Numa* he states that he had himself heard many Romans narrate how in obedience to an oracle bidding the Romans set up in their own city a statue of the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they had erected in the Forum two bronze statues, one of Alcibiades, the other of Pythagoras.<sup>27</sup>

At Rome Plutarch became acquainted with many eminent men — philosophers, poets, grammarians, historians, musicians, physicians—and also renewed his acquaintance with several whom he had known before in Greece, as with Favorinus of Arles,<sup>28</sup> the renowned rhetorician and eclectic philosopher, to whom he dedicated his Treatise ‘On the principle of cold’ (περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ), and with Gaius

<sup>21</sup> *Marcell.* c. 3, 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Poplic.* c. 8, 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Poplic.* c. 10, 4 ἱερὸν Οὐίκας πότας ὀνομαζόμενον.

<sup>24</sup> *Flamin.* c. 1, 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Mor.* 520 c περὶ τῶν τεράτων ἀγορὰν ἀναστρέφονται, τοὺς ἀκνήμους καὶ τοὺς γαλεάκωνας καὶ τοὺς τριοφθάλμους καὶ τοὺς στρουθοκεφάλους καταμανθάνοντες.

<sup>26</sup> *Mor.* 518 b.

<sup>27</sup> c. 8, 10 αὐτοὶ δ' ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων διὰ χρησμοῦ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρείωτατον Ἑλλήνων ἰδρύσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐστήσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου.

<sup>28</sup> Cp. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Att.* ii 22, 27; xii 1, 24. A list of his works is given by J. L. Marks *Diss. de Favorini Arelatensis vita, studiis, scriptis*, Traiecti ad Rhenum, Kemink & Son, 1853.

Sossius Senecio, one of Pliny's correspondents,<sup>29</sup> who became an intimate friend and to whom he dedicates three of his *Parallel Lives*.<sup>30</sup> It was at his suggestion also that he compiled his 'Records of Table-talk' (*συμποσιακά*) held at entertainments in which he was himself the central figure among a circle of scholars or gentlemen devoted to literature and philosophy at Rome and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> Now we know from the *Fasti* that Sossius was four times consul under Trajan, viz. consul *suffectus* in A.D. 98 and consul *ordinarius* in A.D. 99, 102, 107. It is not quite clear, however, whether Plutarch made his acquaintance first at Rome or in Greece, where it is plain, from references in the *Symposiaca*, that Sossius must have stayed some considerable time.<sup>32</sup>

Another man of consular rank, a scholar and archaeologist,<sup>33</sup> was also a friend of Plutarch's, viz. Mestrius Florus. In his company he travelled through Gallia Cisalpina, where the family of Mestrius was well known, and visited the battlefield of Bedriacum,<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ep.* i 13.

<sup>30</sup> Those of *Theseus—Romulus*; *Demosthenes—Cicero*; *Dion—Brutus*: also the Treatise *de profectibus in virtute*.

<sup>31</sup> *Prooem.* § 4 ὥσθης τε δεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν σποράδην πολλάκις ἐν τε 'Ρώμῃ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρούσης ἅμα τραπέζης καὶ κύλικος, φιλολογηθέντων συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

<sup>32</sup> From ii 1, 1 it is plain that Plutarch was once at Patrae with him; and in v 1, 1 he speaks of their being in each other's company at Athens. Again we are told in iv 3, 1 that Sossius came from Chaeronea to be present at the marriage feast of Plutarch's son Autobulus.

<sup>33</sup> φιλαρχαῖος *Symp.* vii 4, 1: cp. viii 2, 2, Suet. *Vesp.* c. 22.

<sup>34</sup> *Oih.* c. 14, 1 ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέλστριος Φλώρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τοῦ Ὁθωνος γενομένων, νεῶν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγείτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σώρων τηλικούτων, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιτολῆς ('on the top') ἀπτεσθαι τῶν δετῶν (i.e. 'the pediments').

Brixellum,<sup>35</sup> Ravenna where he saw the marble statue of Gaius Marius.<sup>36</sup>

Fundanus, another friend, who, with Sextius Sulla of Carthage, is the interlocutor in the dialogue about 'the cure of anger' (*ἀοργησία*)—a very noble and humane character, and the counterpart of Plutarch himself in his domestic life<sup>37</sup>—is probably to be identified with Minucius Fundanus, a distinguished friend of Pliny the younger.<sup>38</sup> A common friend of Sextius Sulla, Fundanus and Plutarch was Paccius, to whom the Treatise 'Of tranquillity of mind' (*περὶ εὐθυμίας*)<sup>39</sup> is dedicated, a distinguished forensic speaker.

Plutarch's occupation during his residence at Rome was akin to that of the ancient *grammaticus*, whom we should describe as lecturer or private tutor,<sup>40</sup> ready to give advice to any one consulting him on questions of practical morality, as a sort of physician of the soul, able to make a diagnosis of a diseased moral condition, one of 'the domestic chaplains of heathendom,' as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, ready to help all who sought his assistance as their moral director and adviser. He had cultivated,

<sup>35</sup> *Oth.* c. 18, 1 εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μνημα μέτριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ μεταφρασθεῖη, 'Δηλώσει (δαίμοσι, *dis manibus* Lobeck) Μάρκου Ὁθωνος.'

<sup>36</sup> *Mar.* c. 2 1 τῆς δ' ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα πάνυ τῇ λεγομένη περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφνότητι καὶ πικρίᾳ πρέπουσαν.

<sup>37</sup> Volkmann *l.c.* p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> See his three Epistles I 9, IV 15 and VI 6. There is also a fourth letter (V 6) concerning the death of his young daughter in which Pliny speaks of his being *eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit*.

<sup>39</sup> *Mor.* 464 F.

<sup>40</sup> *Dem.* c. 2, 1 where he speaks of his being prevented from learning much of the Latin language ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πηλυσιαζόντων. See note 14.

in a greater or less degree, the three branches of study recognized by the ancients, viz. philosophy, rhetoric and mathematics.<sup>41</sup> But his attention was mainly given to moral and religious speculations, in all of which he took the most profound interest; the one aim and end of his life and writings being the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals. Thus Poetry, in his judgment, was mischievous, if it had not a direct moral tendency; his rhetorical precepts and his rules of historical criticism are alike based upon morals. Does he find himself in presence of some physical phenomenon,<sup>42</sup> or confronted by a question of erudition, the solution is to be found only by recurring to moral principles. Even his rules for the preservation of health are for the most part observations of moral hygiene. If he attacks the Stoics and Epicureans, it is to vindicate Providence and the moral government of the world against their tenets. Politics, moreover, are in his view nothing but the most perfect exercise of moral philosophy applied to the amelioration of society.<sup>43</sup>

Ph. D.

Thec.

Thus we see why, from the first, his miscellaneous essays on all sorts of topics were comprised under the common title of *Moral Works*. His *Parallel Lives* are but the complement of his Moral Essays; his leading purpose in writing them was not, as will be seen hereafter, historical but ethical: history is only a school of manners for him; what he looks for in

<sup>41</sup> *Symp.* IX 14, 3, 3 ἀπάσας τὰς διὰ λόγου περαινομένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οὖσας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ ῥητορικῷ καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ κτλ.

<sup>42</sup> *Nic.* c. 23.

<sup>43</sup> *Mor.* 775 F περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι, 779 D πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον.



the example of great men is some lesson or other.<sup>44</sup> 'Vivid moral portraiture' says Archbishop Trench 'is what he aimed at, and this is what he achieved.'<sup>45</sup> And this is the secret of his vast popularity, which has stood the test of so many ages from the 4th century, when he could be spoken of as *ὁ θειότατος, ὁ θεσπέσιος, ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα*,<sup>46</sup> or as *ὁ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πλοῦτος*,<sup>47</sup> until the period of the Renaissance. Since the revival of classical literature his admirers have been very numerous. Rabelais, Montaigne<sup>48</sup> who was a great imitator of Plutarch and confesses that he can hardly do without him, Shakespeare, Scaliger,<sup>49</sup> in the 16th century pay him signal homage; he is, to use Gréard's words, 'le bréviaire du siècle, sa lumière, sa conscience.'<sup>50</sup> His writings have proved a rich storehouse from which Christian writers in all ages have largely and freely drawn. Basil, the great bishop of Cappadocia, derived many a hint from the heathen moralist. Bishop Jeremy Taylor is constantly referring or alluding to his writings; Neander owned his great obligation to the Treatise on 'The delays in the divine justice' at a critical period of his life. In the 18th century we find Montesquieu<sup>51</sup> borrowing his definition of law from him; Rollin gives an almost literal trans-

<sup>44</sup> Heeren *de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi Commentatio prima*, prooem. p. 5 etc., Trench *l.c.* p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> *l.c.* p. 43.

<sup>46</sup> Eunapius *de vitis sophistarum*, prooem. p. 3 ed. Boissonade.

<sup>47</sup> Theophylact Sim. *Q.P.* p. 22.

<sup>48</sup> *Essais* II 4: c'est nostre bréviaire.

<sup>49</sup> *Plutarchus totius sapientiae ocellus*, Scaligerana, Colon. 1695 p. 317.

<sup>50</sup> *l.c.* Introd. p. xx.

<sup>51</sup> *Esprit des lois* I 1.

lation of his *Lives* in his historical descriptions. Rousseau<sup>52</sup> reckons him among the few authors that he read in his old age, 'à cause du profit qu'il y trouve.' 'He is perhaps' says La Harpe 'l'esprit le plus naturellement moral, qui ait existé.'<sup>53</sup> 'He is' according to Joubert 'the Herodotus of philosophy in his *Moral Works*': and the same writer regards his *Parallel Lives* 'comme un des plus précieux monuments que l'antiquité nous ait légués. La sagesse antique est là tout entière.' Similarly Koraës pref. p. 73: ἀμφιβάλλω ἂν εὑρίσκεται κἀνὲν ἄλλο σύγγραμμα παρὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου τὰ συγγράμματα πλουσιώτερον ἀπὸ βωφελῆ παραδείγματα καὶ παραγγέλματα. 'He stands before us' says a writer in the *Journal of Education*<sup>54</sup> 'as the legate, the ambassador and the orator on behalf of those institutions, whereby the old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous.'

We can readily imagine what a profound impression must have been made upon Plutarch by the great City, which was the heart and centre of the world's activity, with its glorious name and associations,<sup>55</sup> its beautiful and magnificent sights, representing all the grandeur and splendour of the earth, so that it might well be named οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομή, not so much from isolated expressions,<sup>56</sup> as from his whole method of speaking of the Roman power and the deep interest which he manifested in Roman history at a later period of his life. He

<sup>52</sup> *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, 4<sup>me</sup> Promenade, apud Koraës Plutarch *Praef.* p. 79.

<sup>53</sup> *Lycée* livre III ch. 11 sect. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Vol. II p. 114.

<sup>55</sup> *Rom.* c. 1, 1 τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξα διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός.

<sup>56</sup> Such as ἡ καλὴ Ῥώμη, as he calls it *Mor.* 963 c.

regarded the Roman empire as a special creation of Providence<sup>57</sup> for helping men to lasting peace and undisturbed possession of their property after a long and dreary period of warfare.

From the noise and bustle of Rome—a fitter residence for him because of the opportunities it afforded of intercourse with great men and the ampler supply of books—he returned to the modest and quiet place of his birth, where he spent the remaining years of his tranquil life, ‘being loth’ as he says ‘to make the small town yet smaller by the absence of even one inhabitant.’<sup>58</sup> He made a point of undertaking its humblest offices at first<sup>59</sup>—entertaining as he did the strong conviction that the exercise of public functions was the duty and the proper education of Man. Subsequently he became its *ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος* for more than one year,<sup>60</sup> and was also nominated by his fellow-townsmen to the office of Boeotarch. He was likewise chosen to officiate as priest of Apollo at Delphi<sup>61</sup>—a still higher testimony to the worth of his character, and he was an important personage at many of the Pythian games.<sup>62</sup> But his public duties did not hinder him from making frequent excursions

<sup>57</sup> *Rom.* c. 8, 7 οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προῖβη δυνάμει (τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα), μὴ θέλων τινα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν. Cp. *Pomp.* c. 75. 3, *Mor.* 316 c–326 c (*de fortuna Romanorum*).

<sup>58</sup> *Dem.* c. 2, 2 ἡμεῖς μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν καὶ, ὥστε μὴ μικροτέρᾳ γένηται, φιλοχωροῦντες. See above note 14.

<sup>59</sup> *Mor.* 811 A (*Praec. ger. reip.* cc. 15, 17).

<sup>60</sup> *Mor.* 643 A (*Symp.* II 10, 1, 1), 694 A (VI 8, 1, 2).

<sup>61</sup> *Mor.* 700 F (*Symp.* VII 2, 2, 1) where he speaks of Euthydemus as his colleague in the priesthood (*συνιερεύς*). Hertzberg (*Gesch. Griechenl. unter d. Herrschaft d. Römer*, Th. II p. 166) thinks that he held the office at Chaeronea.

<sup>62</sup> *Mor.* 792 F.

from Chaeronea; for it is clear from allusions in his *Lives* that he was familiar with all the principal localities, not to say the nooks and corners of Greece; he delights to relate his personal reminiscences and all he has seen of the memorials and records of her past splendour.<sup>63</sup>

In the retirement of a happy domestic life Plutarch enjoyed abundant leisure for the pursuit of his favourite literary and moral studies. But, unlike other philosophers, he did not allow these to absorb his whole attention, to the neglect of other important claims on his time. His useful virtues were actively employed for the good of others. Besides taking his full share in the civil and religious duties of his station, he disbursed the stores of his learning liberally, diffusing knowledge in an age which stood greatly in need of education. His profound sympathy with the young made the task of their spiritual direction a pleasant one: his lecture-room was open to those who, longing to order their lives according to some higher rule in a corrupt age, sought special help in private and familiar intercourse. He gave lectures on philosophical and other subjects, expounding at one time some writing of Plato, at another answering offhand the various questions (*προβλήματα*) put to him, or warning his hearers against the manifold corrupt practices and principles of the time. Many of these lectures were afterwards enlarged by him and published as separate Treatises,<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See especially *Phoc.* c. 18, 5; c. 22, 1, *Arist.* c. 1, 2; cc. 19, 21; c. 27, 1, *Per.* c. 13, 2 ff., *Nic.* c. 3, 3, *Dem.* c. 7, 3; c. 31, 1, *Them.* c. 22, 1, *Alex.* c. 69, 4, *Ages.* c. 19, 5; c. 35, 1, *Sol.* c. 25, 1, *Lyc.* c. 18, 1.

<sup>64</sup> To this category belong the treatises *de audiendis poetis*, and *de audiendo*; also the *ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα*, *de sanitate praecepta*.

and it is plain that they were no mere showy declamations, like those of ordinary sophists, but 'earnest efforts, as of a spiritual physician, to heal the hurts of men's souls.'<sup>65</sup>

Plutarch must have been an extensive reader, and had access to a select library, which contained a good many treasures, but at Chaeronea he felt the want of a large library of reference,<sup>66</sup> so necessary to a literary man. His wont at Rome, where he commanded an ample store of books, had been to make extracts from the more eminent writers in Biography, History or Philosophy for his pupils or audience, which he afterwards employed in the composition of his miscellaneous works; most of which were originally written or added to on some particular occasion, some festive event in the circle of his acquaintance or at the particular request of some friend.<sup>67</sup> His first series of biographies also was written at the instance of others, as appears from a passage in his Introduction to the *Life of Timoleon*, which shows us at the same time incidentally how much Plutarch valued them as a means of improving and elevating his own character.

As to the chronological order of his works we are left very much in the dark. Most of them must have been written in his riper years, after the reign of Domitian. For the date of his *Biographies*, there is an important passage in that of *Sulla* c. 21, 4, where, after describing the battle of Orchomenus

<sup>65</sup> Trench *l.c.* p. 107.

<sup>66</sup> *Dem.* c. 2, *Mor.* 384 D (*de EI ap. Delph.* c. 1).

<sup>67</sup> 'He was as indefatigable a gleaner of literary and ethical curiosities as Southey himself: and could we have his commonplace Book, it might be far more valuable and interesting than the very unequal collection of Photius.' *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1869 p. 73.

(B.C. 85), he says that many relics of the dead were found in the neighbouring marshes—*σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων*. From which it follows that Plutarch must have composed this *Life* at least not much before A.D. 115, consequently at the close of Trajan's reign. He does not appear to have lived long after A.D. 120. For he speaks in the *Life of Solon* c. 32, 2 of the Olympieion at Athens as unfinished (*ἀτελής*), which we know that Hadrian completed some time between A.D. 125 and A.D. 130.

There is sufficient evidence that Plutarch's works were much read and used soon after his death. Aelius Aristides,<sup>68</sup> the celebrated rhetorician of the 2d century, and Polyaeus, author of the *στρατηγήματα*, borrowed largely from him. He is quoted by Aulus Gellius and Galen<sup>69</sup> and referred to by Tatian the Christian apologist in his *λόγος πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*. In the 3d century we find Athenaeus constantly quoting or making tacit reference to him, also Porphyrius the neo-Platonist, and Eunapius.<sup>70</sup> Stobaeus made extracts of all kinds from his works, including some that are lost. Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* has made constant use of his 'Table talk.' In the 6th century he was carefully read by Sopater the younger of Apamea, the eighth and twelfth books of whose *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι* contained extracts from his writings, among others from the lost *Lives* of Crates, Daiphantus, Pindar, Epaminondas: also from his philosophical treatise *περὶ φύσεως καὶ πόνων*, and from another *περὶ ὀργῆς*, a fragment of which is

<sup>68</sup> v. Sintenis ad Plut. *Per. Excurs.* 3 p. 302 ff. ed. Lips. 1835.

<sup>69</sup> *de dogmate Platonis et Hippocratis*.

<sup>70</sup> See above note 46.

found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus. It is remarkable that Soter made extracts from the spurious works also, such as that 'On rivers' and 'The apophthegms of Kings and Generals.' Ecclesiastical writers, as Clement of Alexandria and even Basil, were not ashamed to adorn themselves with his feathers—an easy proceeding which proved too tempting for compilers like Zonaras and Michael Psellus not to imitate.

## II *The Parallel Lives of Plutarch*

The collection known as *The Parallel Lives*, which is a complement to the other half of Plutarch's writings entitled *The Morals*—the one exhibiting to us from ideal points of view what the ancients had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action, the other, what in like manner it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought—is not what its author left behind him, either in form or arrangement. The *Lives* were originally put forth in a series of Books (βιβλία), each containing the biography of a pair (συνγία)—one Greek and one Roman hero—and followed by a comparison (σύγκρισις).<sup>71</sup> Some of these βιβλία have been lost, as that containing the *Lives* of Epaminondas—Scipio (?), which appears to have been the first he wrote, also that containing the *Lives* of Metellus and some parallel Greek.

The 46 extant *Lives* are contained in 22 βιβλία—

<sup>71</sup> The σύγκρισις is wanting in the *Lives* of Phocion—Cato minor; Themistocles—Camillus; Pyrrhus—Marius; Alexander—Caesar.

those of Agis—Cleomenes—Gracchi, a double pair, being reckoned as one. They are of special value to us for the knowledge of Greek and Roman Antiquity, in fact, for many periods the only extant source of information, and they are still regarded as the legacy of a highly-cultivated man, a thorough-going advocate of truth and morality. 'It is a mistake to suppose' says F. A. Paley 'that Plutarch was content with writing merely amusing or popular biographies: the *Lives* are works of great learning and research, and they must for this very reason, as well as from their considerable length, have taken many years in their compilation.' His original idea in writing them was simply to set a distinguished Greek—warrior, statesman, orator or legislator—side by side with some noted Roman, celebrated for the same qualities. In his age, when, though Rome held the supremacy, Greece was looked up to as the source of wisdom and art, such a comparison between the greatest men of both nations had a special propriety and significance and was more than a mere literary exercise. It was a patriotic theme, to show the superiority of this or that race; and Plutarch, in some sense, belonged to both.

We have the interesting testimony of the Biographer himself that the *Lives* were not written by him on the same model. Those of the First Series, which were composed in deference to the wishes of some of his friends, partake more of an historical than an ethical character. To this Series belong the following pairs, which, as may be gathered from internal evidence, appeared in the following order<sup>72</sup> approximately:—

<sup>72</sup> See C. T. Michaelis *de ordine vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi* p. 20 ff., where the evidence is stated very clearly. The



1. Epaminondas—Scipio (?) (not extant)
2. Sertorius—Eumenes
3. Cimon—Lucullus
4. Lysander—Sulla
5. Demosthenes—Cicero
6. Agis—Cleomenes—Gracchi
7. Pelopidas—Marcellus
8. Phocion—Cato minor
9. Aristides—Cato maior

(It will be observed that No. 2 is the only pair in which the Roman takes precedence of the Greek; the others are in chronological sequence.)

The Second Series—which was not written at the suggestion of friends but for his own satisfaction and improvement (as he himself records in the Proem to the *Life of Timoleon*), and partook of a more distinctly ethical character <sup>73</sup>—comprised the following :

10. Pericles—Fabius Maximus <sup>74</sup>
11. Nicias—Crassus
12. Dion—Brutus <sup>75</sup>
13. Timoleon—Aemilius Paulus
14. Philopoemen—Titus Flamininus
15. Themistocles—Camillus
16. Alexander—Caesar
17. Agesilaus—Pompeius
18. Pyrrhus—Marius
19. Solon—Poplicola

*Life* of Epaminondas is quoted in *Agesilaus* c. 28, 4; that of Scipio ma. in *Pyrrhus* c. 8, and that of Scipio mi. in *Ti. Gracch.* c. 21, 4 and *C. Gracch.* c. 10, 2. We have no authority, except the spurious catalogue of Lamprias, for coupling the *Life* of Scipio with that of Epaminondas.

<sup>73</sup> *Nic.* c. 2, 5 τὴν πρὸς κατανήσιν ἡθους καὶ τρόπου ιστορίαν.

<sup>74</sup> *Per.* c. 2, 3 ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐνδιατρέψαι τῇ περὶ τοῦ βίου ἀναγραφῇ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συντετάχαμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φαβίου Μαξίμου.

<sup>75</sup> *Dion* c. 2, 4 ἐν τούτῳ, δὲ δεκάτῳ τῶν παραλλήλων ὄντι βίων.

The lost *Life of Metellus*, which was promised in that of Marius (c. 29, 8), was probably written before those of Solon—Poplicola. After exhausting the great characters of Grecian and Roman history whose example was worthy of imitation, in ‘his gallery of portraits,’ it occurred to Plutarch that he might teach virtue in a different way by painting its opposite.<sup>76</sup> Hence he composed a Third Series of *Parallel Lives*: but it comprises only two, viz. those of Demetrius—Antonius and Alcibiades—Coriolanus.

It was not until after the completion of the above three Series that the Biographer seems to have turned his attention to prehistoric times and ‘like a geographer delineating unknown countries’ (to use his own expressive simile<sup>77</sup>) to have commenced yet a Fourth Series of *Lives*, of which the only ones extant are those of Theseus—Romulus and Lycurgus—Numa, usually placed first of all. But the order in which the *Lives* are arranged in the MSS is purely arbitrary. The four extant *Lives* of Artoxerxes, Aratus, Galba and Otho, together with the lost *Lives* of Heracles, Aristomenés, Hesiod, Pindar, Daiphantus, Crates and others, were detached narratives and do not come under the same category. Those of Galba and Otho indeed are placed in most of the MSS and in editions prior to that of Stephanus (Henri Estienne) among the *Morals*.

We are not left to conjecture what Plutarch’s aim and purpose were in the composition of the Second Series of *Lives*, which, as has been already stated, was a continuation of those written at the instance of others. In the Introduction to the *Life of Alexander* he expressly says:—‘I am not a writer of

<sup>76</sup> *Demetr.* c. 1, 4.

<sup>77</sup> *Thes.* c. 1, 1.

histories but of biographies. My readers therefore must excuse me if I do not describe in minute detail, but only briefly touch upon, the noblest and most famous events. For it is not the most conspicuous actions that of necessity exhibit a man's virtues or failings, but it often happens that some trifling incident, a word or a jest, gives a clearer insight into character, than battles with their slaughters of tens of thousands, and the greatest arrays of armies and sieges of cities. Accordingly, as painters produce a likeness by a representation of the countenance only and features, whereby the character is revealed, and pay least attention to the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to study rather the indications of a man's character, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of the grand events and struggles in which they were engaged.'

So again in the Proem to the *Life of Nicias*, while he takes the historian Timaeus to task for aspiring to emulate Thucydides by giving a full narrative of the events of the Sicilian campaign, and ridicules his feeble and senseless attempts at imitating such a great and unapproachable model, he professes his own immunity from such an error. He will not do more than make a cursory reference to the chief events so ably recorded by that historian and by Philistus, and, for the rest, endeavour to collect materials for his Biography from various other sources—the scattered remarks of writers not commonly known, ancient records and decrees—selecting such as would throw most light upon the character and disposition of his hero.

Herein lies the broad difference between Plutarch and such writers as Herodotus and Thucydides.

Their interest is for the doings and destinies of political communities, while they are comparatively indifferent to those of individuals—a fact easily accounted for from the circumstances of the age in which they lived, when the state was all in all and the individual entirely merged in it. But a change in this respect had set in as early as the following century, when it became the fashion to connect great events and achievements with the names of individuals; so that, while Marathon and Salamis were always described as victories of the Athenian people and not of Miltiades only and Themistocles, Timotheus is frequently spoken of as the conqueror of Corcyra, Chabrias of Naxos, and Iphicrates of the Lacedaemonians.<sup>78</sup> In Theopompus, for example, the historian of King Philip, we find greater prominence given to the characteristics of individuals and their actions more carefully described in detail: while in Plutarch—by whose time the Greeks as a nation were politically effaced, and all interest in their country extinct, when there was 'Greece but living Greece no more'—the whole becomes absorbed in the individual, history in biography; personal character and the actions and motives of individuals are the objects of his interest and study. More or less of historical background he was obliged by the necessity of the case to give to his portraits, but always in subordination to the portrait itself: he is, in short, an historian only by accident, really and essentially

<sup>78</sup> Demosth. *Aristocr.* § 198 τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε οὐδενός, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπεστέρησαν ἑαυτοὺς, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἀν εἰποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν εἶλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μύραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ἐνίκᾳ ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας. Cp. Aesch. c. *Ctesiph.* § 186 f.

Hdt.

?

οἱ μὲν

a philosopher and moralist: and his *Biographies* take their tone from the spirit which animated the writer in his philosophical works, a proof of which is furnished by the Proem to the *Life of Pericles*, which is to the moral treatises what the example is to the rule.

*Can. 111. 112.*  
III *Plutarch's Life of Themistocles*

To such an extent, then, a biography such as that of Themistocles offers an interesting addition to the chapters of Herodotus and Thucydides that relate to him. Plutarch does not profess to give his readers information concerning the main incidents of the Persian war or the building of the walls of Athens; but presupposes a knowledge of these events from the great historians who preceded him; the information which he affords is of a supplementary kind. If he does give a more or less detailed account of any event after Herodotus, the historian's clear and racy narrative is obscured by the biographer's omissions or distortions. On the other hand, the writings of the great historians would give us only an imperfect notion of the character of Themistocles: whereas Plutarch's story of his life presents us with a tolerably complete portrait of the man and his distinguishing characteristics. Interest in the personality of great men was, unfortunately, awakened too late among the Greek historians for them to be able to draw their knowledge of a man like Themistocles from direct sources: consequently, Plutarch had not anything at his disposal, in the works of the historians of the 4th and 3d centuries B.C., but a

mass of tradition, partly blurred and obscure, partly made up from originally fragmentary and incomplete notices. Historical criticism was not his strong point, and he was by no means the man to throw light upon the darkness; nor was he inclined to abandon a full and continuous narrative in favour of one more or less fragmentary and disconnected by the removal of the embellishing additions which served to complete it. Such a process would not have been generally in accordance with the received notions of the period, nor suited Plutarch's purpose as a writer of biography; for his object was not to ascertain historic truth in the interest of science, but to represent a picture of human excellence in the interest of ethical philosophy.

The story of Themistocles' adventures in Asia serves as a striking instance in point. Nowhere is a fuller and more richly-coloured and interesting picture presented by Plutarch than here; but nowhere one less historically true. The sum of what is clearly authenticated about them is given by Thucydides, and, though Plutarch was acquainted with and even quotes his account,<sup>79</sup> yet he disdained to reproduce it and chose rather to defer to the authority of an inferior writer like Phanias<sup>80</sup> of Eresus, one of Aristotle's pupils, who lived in the time of Alexander. Now, however well versed in historical literature Plutarch may have judged Phanias to be, he could not possibly have concealed from himself the fact that, where Phanias and Thucydides contradicted each other, the probability was, beyond all question, in favour of the latter being right. But the fact is, Thucydides makes his

<sup>79</sup> c. 27, 1.

<sup>80</sup> c. 13, 3.

hero die as prosaically as possible of natural causes ; and, if he does add that, according to some accounts, he poisoned himself, he spoils this story again by the motives which he assigns for the act, viz. that he felt himself unable to fulfil the engagements which he had made to the King of Persia. The narrative of Thucydides, compared with that of later writers, is for the most part as sober and simple as reality ; we cannot therefore be surprised at the preference shown by Plutarch. He says nothing about the report of his hero's dying of disease ; he accepts as true the motives assigned by Thucydides for the suicide, but improves upon them by the addition of a moral motive, which he believes to have been the really decisive one. Our own feeling, it is true, no less than Plutarch's, revolts at the idea of a hero, who by his incomparable genius and great achievements has excited our lively interest, being deterred from making war against his native land merely by some opportune illness or by his conviction of the impracticability of the attempt. Hence even modern historians differ in their judgment ; some, like Sinenis, in disregard of Thucydides' statement, consider the account of the suicide, with Plutarch's explanation of the motives which led to it, as historical ; others, as Ernst Curtius, while deferring to the authority of the great historian, attribute the illness to mental rather than physical causes, in fact to those very same causes which Plutarch himself assigns for his suicide. It is possible then to read between the lines of Thucydides, and not assume that the great historian thought and felt no more about the events and persons he depicts than he may expressly state in his grandly objective manner.

It must not, however, be supposed, from the above

remarks about Plutarch's choice between his several authorities, that he defied criticism altogether in his exclusive predilection for what was romantic. There was, for instance, a very touching and tragical narrative of the burial of Themistocles written by Phylarchus,<sup>81</sup> the historian of the Spartan king Cleomenes III, which Plutarch rejects as unhistorical, precisely because it is tragical and touching. As a rule, he has none of that love of painting scenes of horror at the expense of historical truth, which is expressly censured by Polybius in the particular case of this historian, and by himself elsewhere<sup>82</sup> in that of Duris of Samos, but he shows himself always sober and cautious and critical—that is, so far as a natural impulse, untutored and without searching study, can be. Method indeed and system he has none—as is shown by the predilection, which he openly avows in the passage already quoted from the *Life of Alexander*, for anecdotes and apophthegms. What he says there is quite correct:—that such small traits may be in the highest degree valuable for a knowledge of character, although, on the other hand, they are by no means the chief point to be considered, nor do they in themselves constitute greatness of character, such as to entitle the subject

<sup>81</sup> See below p. xlv.

<sup>82</sup> *Per. c.* 28, 1, 2 where in speaking of the conquest of Samos Plutarch adds: Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τοῖς ἐπιτραγωδαί, πολλὰν ὁμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν ἦν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστορῆκεν οὐτ' Ἐφορος οὐτ' Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀληθεύειν ἔοικεν, ὥς ἄρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἀγορὰν καταγαγὼν καὶ σάνισι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα, κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκύψαντας, εἶτα προβαλεῖν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅπου μὴδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθὼς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.



of them to a special biography. Even such importance as slight touches of the kind may have in contributing to the exhibition of every finely-shaded character can only belong to them in virtue of their truth, or at least when they are conceived in the spirit of and bear the stamp of the person concerned. But Plutarch, unfortunately, paid so little attention to the truth or probability of his stories, that he frequently collected and lumped together anything that came to hand, placing not only the true and the false, but the good and bad also, the clever and refined, the foolish and coarse, side by side without any discrimination.

Among other defects of Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* must be reckoned his disregard of chronology—the natural consequence of his purely ethical aim and his lack of insight into the true significance of political events which he is relating—and his inability to estimate rightly great political situations: defects which are more manifest in some other of his *Lives*, as that of *Pericles*. On the other hand, we find in the *Life of Themistocles* less sympathy on the part of the writer for his hero and greater restraint in the delineation of his character than in the case of others; and not without reason, for Themistocles could hardly pass for a mirror of every excellence, if we except that of *σοφία*. Nor does Plutarch concern himself much about removing or palliating the blots on his hero's character, chief among which must be reckoned his unscrupulous avarice:<sup>83</sup> indeed he does no more than occasionally tone down the narrative of Herodotus in favour of Themistocles, as, for instance, when he makes him divide the Euboic

<sup>83</sup> c. 5, 1.

money honestly between Eurybiades and the others, whereas, according to the historian, he gave only a small portion to the others, reserving by far the greater share for himself. This forbearance is in general a trait of the Biographer which does more honour to him as a man than as an historian: in the present *Life* he extends his indulgence even to the Corinthian Adeimantus, who, as is well known, plays a bad part in Herodotus, by the suppression of his name in the passages relating to him. Plutarch may have had, in this single instance, cogent historical grounds for mistrusting Herodotus; still it strikes one as a strange sort of criticism, to take a narrative about a person out of an historian, and then, instead of giving the name of the person, to put down merely 'somebody.'<sup>84</sup>

The present Biography lends itself to the following main divisions:—

*A.* c. 1-c. 5. The family (1), the youthful education (2) and political life of Themistocles up to the time of the war with Xerxes (3), followed by a string of anecdotes about him (5).

*B.* c. 6-c. 17. A contribution to the history of the great Persian War, a general knowledge of which is presupposed, in so far as Themistocles was actively engaged in it i.e. until the retreat of the Persian king and the honours paid to Themistocles by the Spartans. To these gleanings a fresh series of anecdotes, affording further illustration of his hero's character, are added in c. 18.

<sup>84</sup> c. 11, 3.

C. c. 19-c. 22. This division carries us up to the ostracism and banishment of Themistocles.

D. c. 23-c. 31. His accusation and flight, his reception at the Court of the Persian king and residence in Asia until his death.

E. c. 32. The family he left behind him and the circumstances of his burial.

#### IV *The sources of information open to Plutarch for his Life of Themistocles*

No less than thirty authors, all told, are named or quoted by Plutarch in this *Biography*, as his authorities: but there is a wide difference between them as to the importance and extent of the materials which they supply. The two great historians, Herodotus<sup>85</sup> and Thucydides,<sup>86</sup> provide the foundation respec-

<sup>85</sup> See c. 7, 3; c. 17, 1; c. 21, 1. In one statement Herodotus has accepted a current tradition of a detail which is not authentic but the invention of a later period, when the vials of men's wrath were discharged on the discredited exile. In VIII 57 he makes out that the credit of pointing out to Themistocles the impolicy of withdrawing the fleet from Salamis and fighting the Persians at the Isthmus of Corinth was due to Mnesiphilus, and that Them. had nothing to do with originating the idea. Ps.-Plutarch *de Herod. malign.* c. 37 is right in rejecting the story but wrong in imputing it to the malice of Herodotus, who elsewhere gives Them. ungrudging praise. What Plutarch says of Themistocles c. 2, 4 and again *Mor.* 797 B *εἰ δέ τι σφαλεῖη, μὴ περιορῶν ἐξαθυμοῦντα τὸν νέον, ἀλλ' ἀνιστάς καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὥς Ἀριστείδης Κίμωνα καὶ Μνησίφιλος Θεμιστοκλέα (sc. παρεμυθεῖτο), δυσχεραينوμένους καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον* is taken from a different source. See A. Bauer *Themistokles Studien* etc. p. 26 Note 1.

<sup>86</sup> See c. 25, 1; c. 27, 1. It is very probable that Plutarch made use of the Scholia also to Thucydides. The agreement between his narrative c. 24, 3 and a scholion on Thuc. I 136 quoted *ad loc.* lends weight to this supposition.

tively for *Div. B*, and *Div. C* and *D*. It is easy to see what particulars are taken directly or indirectly from these authors and what not: and the reader's attention is drawn thereto throughout the Commentary.

His authority for *Div. A* was, among others, Theopompus,<sup>87</sup> who is also quoted several times later on; and for the continuation and supplement of the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, Ephorus, who is cited in c. 27, 1. These two Historians of the 4th century B.C. were both brought up in the school of Isocrates at Chios (*Mor.* 837 B), their style consequently has a strong rhetorical flavour: but they were radically different in character and turn of mind and accordingly chose different subjects.<sup>88</sup>

The most celebrated work of Ephorus was a general history of the Hellenes and Barbarians, in 30 Books, covering a period of 750 years, from the return of the Heracleids—which since his time has always been taken as the beginning of the historical period—to the siege of Perinthus (B.C. 340), each Book forming a complete whole by itself. The XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth Books extended from the siege of Paros by Miltiades (B.C. 489) to the beginning of

<sup>87</sup> See c. 19, 1 with note; c. 25, 2; c. 31, 2. Theopompus with his aristocratic leanings judged Themistocles in the spirit of a partisan and misrepresented his motives where it was possible, unlike in this respect to Ephorus, who shows his partiality for him. Cp. *Dem.* c. 18, 4 with my note.

<sup>88</sup> Their tempers were so diverse (Ephorus being τὸ ἥθος ἀπλοῦς τὴν δὲ ἐρμηνείαν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπτιος καὶ νωθὸς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐπίτασιν, Theopompus on the other hand τὸ ἥθος πικρὸς καὶ κακότητης, τῇ δὲ φράσει πολὺς καὶ συνεχὴς καὶ φορὰς μεστός, φιλαλήθης δ' ἐν οἷς ἔγραψεν) that their master said one required a whip, the other a curb (τὸν μὲν ἔφη χαλίνου δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἐφορον κέντρον) (*Suidas*). Cp. Cic. *de orat.* III § 36 *dicebat Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere.*

the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431). Polybius, who frequently refers to Ephorus, speaks of him as the first who attempted an universal history (τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβλημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν, V 33, 2), and reckons him among οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων (VI 45, 1). It seems from his account of it to have been full of curious and antiquarian research (IX 1, 4). He expresses his admiration of him in the following terms: ὁ γὰρ Ἐφορος, παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν θαυμάσιος ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν ('treatment of his subject') καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν λημμάτων, δεινότατος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς παρεκβάσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ γνωμολογίαις καὶ συλλήβδην ὅταν πού τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον ('his concluding observations') διατιθῇται (XII 28, 10). Yet he criticizes him unfavourably for his inability to describe a battle scene. Although an honest and painstaking writer, he cannot be regarded as a trustworthy and safe guide in the study of history, since even in the later periods, where he had such guides as Thucydides Herodotus Xenophon, he differs from them on points on which they were entitled to credit. Thus his statement of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, preserved in Diodorus Siculus<sup>89</sup> and in Plutarch's *Pericles*,<sup>90</sup> is a striking instance of the vast difference between him and Thucydides. Duris of Samos has, perhaps, hit the mark when he says (Müller *FHG.* I p. 469 b) that he as well as Theopompus οὐτε μιμήσεως μετέλαβον οὐδεμίας οὐτε ἡδονῆς ἐν τῷ φράσαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον ἐπεμελήθησαν. His style, as might have been expected from his rhetorical training, was clear and lucid but highly coloured and artificial, and at the same time diffuse and wanting in energy.

<sup>89</sup> XII c. 38-c. 41.

<sup>90</sup> c. 29 ff.

Theopompus of Chios, on the other hand—who was a partisan of the aristocratic faction in his native town and who lived for a long time in exile on account of his Laconism, until restored at the instance of Alexander—following the example of Thucydides, devoted his leisure and a considerable part of his ample fortune towards procuring accurate information about the particulars he chronicled, and, though he did not attain to the greatness of his predecessor and offended by his intense subjectivity, nevertheless the loss of his historical works—the *σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν* in 12 Books, comprising a period of seventeen years, B.C. 411 to B.C. 393, from the battle of Cynossema, where Thucydides left off, to that of Cnidus;<sup>91</sup> and the *Φιλιππικά*, which contained the History of Philip, son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia in 58 Books,<sup>92</sup> from the commencement of his reign (B.C. 360) to his death (B.C. 336)—is one of the most to be regretted in Greek Literature. The latter, indeed, was a very miscellaneous compilation without much method or unity of purpose, and consisted of a number of tedious digressions and excursions on an extraordinary variety of topics.<sup>93</sup> One of these, forming the xth Book, is taken up with an account of Attic Statesmen (*δημαγωγοί*) from the time of the Persian Wars downwards. It is very difficult to determine what portions of the *Life of Themistocles*, setting aside direct quotations, are borrowed from Theopompus. On the other hand what belongs to Ephorus may, to some extent, be ascertained from Diodorus, upon whose compilation his history

<sup>91</sup> Diod. XIII c. 42; XIV c. 84. Cp. Polyb. VIII 13, 3.

<sup>92</sup> Diod. XVI c. 3. Cp. Polyb. VIII 11.

<sup>93</sup> On the different opinions concerning the merits of his style, see my Introduction to the *Life of Timoleon* p. xx f.

the Peloponnes  
 frequently refer  
 who attempted  
 μόνον ἐπιβεβλ.  
 and reckons  
 συγγραφέων  
 of it to have  
 research (IX  
 him in the fo  
 τὴν πραγματ  
 κατὰ τὸν χ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐ  
 ταῖς παρεκ/  
 συλλήβδην  
 cluding ob  
 criticizes  
 a battle se  
 writer, he  
 safe guid  
 later peri  
 Herodot  
 on which  
 statemen  
 preserve  
 Pericles,  
 between  
 perhaps.  
 I p. 46  
 μὴ μῆσεω.  
 αὐτοῦ δὲ  
 as migh  
 training.  
 and art  
 wanting

Salamis (c. 13, 2),<sup>98</sup> that about Architeles, trierarch of the sacred galley, when the fleet lay off Artemisium (c. 7, 4), and lastly the notice about the mother of Themistocles (c. 1, 2), are pure inventions of Phantias. Besides these, the tale of the owl (c. 12, 1) may possibly be from him.<sup>99</sup>

The importance of the remaining authorities for the Biography is much slighter, and a brief survey of them will suffice. Aristotle is quoted in c. 10, 3, and his successor Theophrastus in c. 25, 1 and 2; the recently discovered *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of the former, given for the first time to the world from the unique text in the British Museum papyrus cxxxix in 1891, is referred to; of the latter writer a philosophical treatise is especially named as the source of the first statement. Besides these, another member of the Peripatetic school, Ariston of Ceos (about B.C. 225), is quoted as the authority for an extraordinary love story (c. 3, 2), as is the great Geographer and Chronologer Eratosthenes<sup>100</sup> of Cyrene, who was a Stoic philosopher and in a philosophical treatise contributed some more satisfactory information about Themistocles than Phantias did. Plato, the philosopher, is quoted in c. 4, 3 and in c. 32, and is perhaps the authority for c. 18, 2.

<sup>98</sup> The story recurs in *Arist.* c. 9 with the variation of the sacrifice having been during, not before, the battle.

<sup>99</sup> Blass thinks there is little doubt that the section c. 26–c. 31, 2, which contains essentially a coherent and homogeneous narrative, is, with the exception of a few passages (on c. 29, 3 f., where Phylarchus is the authority, see below), taken bodily out of Phantias. He is expressly quoted for the conversation in c. 10 (besides c. 27, 4); but if so, then c. 28 must also be from him, and the mention therein made of the dream in Nicogenes' house gives us further ground for a conclusion as to the preceding chapter. Mohr in his *Dissertation* attempts to show that Phantias is Plutarch's chief source.

<sup>100</sup> See note to c. 27, 3.



Of the historians proper, besides those already named, who are occasionally made use of, the oldest is Charon<sup>101</sup> of Lampsacus, who wrote before Herodotus and is reckoned among the logographers. He was the author, among other writings, of two books of *Περσικά*. There was a work under a similar title by Dinon<sup>101</sup> of Colophon in the middle of the 4th century; and his son Clitarchus,<sup>101</sup> one of the most untrustworthy chroniclers of Alexander the Great, is named along with him. Heraclides<sup>101</sup> also of Cyme (or of Pontus?) is mentioned as one of those who maintained that Xerxes and not Artaxerxes occupied the throne of Persia, when Themistocles took refuge in Persia. Neanthes<sup>102</sup> of Cyzicus (end of the 3d century B.C.) is cited twice; both passages are from his *Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι*. Somewhat older than these is Phylarchus of Naucratis,<sup>103</sup> a contemporary of Aratus, who left a long historical work about Greece and other countries in 28 Books, covering the period B.C. 272 to B.C. 220.

The antiquarian writers, who composed the *Atthides*<sup>104</sup> or a chronological account of the history of Athens, form a special group, the oldest of whom Clidemus<sup>105</sup> or Clitodemus (*fl.* c. 378) is quoted in c. 10, 4, Phanodemus in c. 13, 1; Philochorus,<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> See note to c. 27, 1.

<sup>102</sup> c. 1, 2; c. 29, 4. Albracht supposes him to have been one of Plutarch's principal sources.

<sup>103</sup> c. 32, 2.

<sup>104</sup> Müller *FHG.* I p. lxxxix-xci.

<sup>105</sup> Pausanias x 15 Κλειτόδημος ὅποσοι Ἀθηναίων ἐγραψαν τὰ ἐπιχώρια ἀρχαῖοτατος.

<sup>106</sup> Müller *l.c.* p. lxxxiv-v, p. lxxxviii-xc, where the titles of 22 works of his are recorded. Albracht and Mohr trace the story of Arthmius (c. 6, 2) to him. The former also thinks that c. 11 *init.* is taken from him, as well as part of c. 10.

the most important of all (B.C. 320-260), is probably the authority for the tale of the dog of Xanthippus (c. 10, 5).<sup>107</sup>

Diodorus Periegeta, from whose work on the monuments of Attica the account of Themistocles' grave in c. 32, 3 is borrowed, wrote at the close of the 4th century. His treatise *περὶ δήμων*, i.e. on the demes of Attica, is of some historical value. A comparison with the *Life of Cimon* c. 16 might lead us to suppose that the circumstantial account of Themistocles' family (c. 32, 1) is taken from the same source. Acestorodorus of Megalopolis, of uncertain date, who is quoted together with Phanodemus, is said to have left behind him a work *περὶ πόλεων*.

The almost contemporary political pamphlet (*τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἡλικιώτης ἱστορία*, *Per.* c. 13, 7, *Cim.* c. 4, 4)—containing a medley of sayings and doings of Themistocles, Thucydides and Pericles—by Stesimbrotus<sup>108</sup> of Chios, who obtained a

<sup>107</sup> Cp. Aelian *nat. hist.* XII 35 who refers to Aristotle and Philochorus, as vouchers for the truth of it.

<sup>108</sup> See note to c. 2, 3 where Plutarch finds him guilty of an anachronism; C. Müller, after Wickers and Sintenis, refers the story at the end of the chapter about Them.'s father's renunciation of him, and his mother's death in consequence, to the same source. Plutarch also refuses to believe the story taken from him in c. 24, 3, because it cannot be reconciled with the statements of Theophrastus and Thucydides. As to the statement in c. 4, 3 about Miltiades's opposition to the increase of the navy—which must have been before the battle of Marathon, for Miltiades was himself in command of 70 ships against Paros after that (*Her.* VI 32)—Plutarch does not disguise his opinion of the charge against Them., but speaks of it as a *διαβολή*. Stesimbrotus was a particularist, and, as such, as little favourable as Herodotus to the foundation of the Athenian naval power, as has been pointed out by Bauer after Wilamowitz *Hermes* XII p. 364, Schmidt II 44 and Holzapfel p. 143. The same critic observes

reputation at Athens by his lectures on Homer, is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy, although it has its defenders.<sup>109</sup>

About the same time as Stesimbrotus lived Ion the poet of Chios, whose prose work, *Ἐπιδημίαι*, which records the author's experiences during his visits to other cities and in particular his interviews with celebrated men, even in the scanty fragments of it which are extant, gives evidence of a refined and highly cultivated mind. The authenticity of this work has been disputed by some, its credibility by others, but without any sort of reason. In the *Life of Themistocles* it served as the foundation for the anecdote recorded in c. 2, 3.<sup>110</sup>

The remaining authorities cited by Plutarch are either the Attic orators, as Andocides,<sup>111</sup> the well-known prosecutor in the trial of the Hermocopidae, who however has no claim to historical credibility either in his notice of Themistocles or in any other, where he is not relating his own experiences; or

that *ταῦτα* in the following clause does not refer farther back than to the quotations from Plato. The peculiar position of the name *Θεμιστοκλῆς* (l. 26) shows that the previous sentence is made up of the two passages in Plato and Stesimbrotus.

<sup>109</sup> See n. to c. 2, 3; c. 4, 4. It has lately been pronounced to be the spurious production of a later age. See C. Bursian *Lit. Centralbl.* 1860 p. 620, and Franz Rühl *die Quellen Plutarchs im Leben des Kimon* Marburg 1867 p. 29-37. Schmidt vindicates its genuineness against Rühl, but he certainly fails to prove either the importance of the work or the extensive use of it in the oldest and latest periods. A. Bauer passes a sensible judgment on its merits.

<sup>110</sup> See note *ad loc.* Bauer refers to an essay on Ion by F. Schöll *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. xxxii p. 145 ff. Ion was an admirer and partisan of Aristides and Cimon, and had a grudge against Themistocles as one *πέραν τοῦ δέοντος ἐπαίροντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν*.

<sup>111</sup> See note to c. 32, 2.

poets, as Simonides,<sup>112</sup> Pindar,<sup>113</sup> Aeschylus,<sup>114</sup> the comic poets, as Aristophanes<sup>115</sup> and his contemporary Plato,<sup>116</sup> and finally, one of much greater importance than all these for the present Biography, the Rhodian Timocreon<sup>117</sup> (c. 21, 2, 3), the famous athlete and lyric poet, and bitter and abusive enemy not only of Themistocles but of Simonides and many other of his contemporaries.

<sup>112</sup> (c. 5, 4); c. 15, 2. As to the Epigram on the mother of Them. (c. 1, 3), Unger (*philol. Anzeiger* 1874 p. 375), whom A. Bauer follows (*Themist. Studien etc.* p. 11, p. 135 n.), has shown from a passage in Athenaeus (xiii 37, p. 576 c=fr. 1 ed. Müller) that the epigram was the production of a later age, the author being Amphicrates in the time of Lucullus. Schmidt (*Das Perikleische Zeitalter* p. 123), on the other hand, regards it as an evidently contemporary composition.

<sup>113</sup> c. 8, 2.

<sup>114</sup> c. 14, 1.

<sup>115</sup> c. 19, 3 where the reference is to *Eq.* 815 ἀριστώσῃ (τῇ πόλει) τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν, a passage which Koraës on Hippocrates *de aere* II p. 5 explains thus:— 'Thémistocle, non content de tous les biens dont il avait comblé sa patrie, voulut, outre le diner (c'est-à-dire les moyens qu'elle avait déjà de faire deux repas par jour), lui accommoder encore, comme un plat surnuméraire, le Pirée (en faisant construire le longue muraille).' There is an allusion to Themistocles also in the Δαιταλεῖς or 'Banqueters' fr. 220

εἰς τὰς τριήρεις δεῖν (i. q. δέον) ἀναλοῦν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τέλχη,  
εἰς οἷ' ἀνάλουν οἱ προτοῦ τὰ χρήματα.

The ll. 1351 and 1366 in the *Equites* serve as an indication that the generation in the time of the Peloponnesian War had become reconciled to the changes which Them. had introduced. See also *Pac.* 506, *Av.* 1124 for other covert allusions to the same.

<sup>116</sup> c. 32, 3.

<sup>117</sup> c. 21, 2, 3. See on Timocreon A. Kirchhoff *Hermes* xi p. 38 ff. There is probably a reference to Timocreon in c. 5, 1. The story of the visit of Themistocles to Hieron is a pure fiction of Timocreon's, which was introduced in the play which he wrote upon Themistocles and Simonides, according to the testimony of Suidas. The court of Hieron was aptly chosen as the scene of his adversaries' medising. See Müller *FHG.* Vol. II p. 54.



# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF

### PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

*N.B.*—The numerals in heavy type refer to the Text.

B.C.	
525	<p>Ol. 63. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known).            Cambyses conquers Egypt in the 5th year of his reign.            War of the Spartans against Polycrates of Samos.            Birth of THEMISTOCLES (<i>circ.</i>)            Birth of AESCHYLUS.</p>
521	<p>Ol. 64. 4. <i>Milliades</i>.            Death of Cambyses; Pseudo-Smerdis; accession of            Darius, son of Hystaspes. Birth of PINDAR.</p>
519	<p>Ol. 65. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known).            The Plataeans place themselves under the protection of            Athens.            The power and prosperity of the Aeginetans at their height            (c. 4, 1); they defeat the Samian pirates.</p>
514	<p>Ol. 66. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known).            Murder of Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias.</p>
511	<p>Ol. 67. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known).            Phrynichus (c. 5, 3), the tragic poet, gains his first            victory.</p>

B.C.	
510	Ol. 67. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). EXPULSION OF THE PISISTRATIDÆ.
509	Ol. 67. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Expansion of the Solonian constitution by Clisthenes.
508	Ol. 68. 1. <i>Isagoras</i> . Expulsion of Clisthenes from Athens for a short time.
51 504	Ol. 69. 1. <i>Acestorides</i> . Charon, the historian, of Lampsacus <i>fl.</i> (c. 27, 1).
503	Ol. 69. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Heraclitus of Ephesus, the philosopher, and Lasus of Hermione, the lyric poet, <i>fl.</i>
500	Ol. 70. 1. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Attempt upon Naxos by Aristagoras and the Persians. Revolt of Aristagoras from Persia (c. 2, 3). Hecataeus of Miletus, the logographer, assists at the deliberations of the Ionians respecting the revolt.
499	Ol. 70. 2. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Sardis taken and burnt by the Ionians, assisted by the Athenians and Eretrians. Aeschylus ( <i>act.</i> 25) first exhibits tragedy with Pratinas and Choerilus (c. 14, 1).
498	Ol. 70. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known). Cyprus reconquered by Persians. Flight and death of Aristagoras.
494	Ol. 71. 3. <i>Pythocritus</i> . The Battle of Lade and Fall of Miletus (c. 14, 1 l. 9 n.)
493	Ol. 71. 4. <i>Themistocles</i> . Miltiades (c. 4, 3) takes flight from the Thracian Chersonese to Athens.
492	Ol. 72. 1. <i>Diognetus</i> . First expedition of Persians against Greece under Mardonius totally destroyed near Mt Athos.

B.C.	
491	<p>Ol. 72. 2. <i>Hybrilides</i>.  Darius sends heralds to demand earth and water from the Greeks.  Demaratus (c. 29, 3), King of Sparta, deposed by the intrigues of his colleague Cleomenes, who dies.  Leotychides and Leonidas become kings in their place.  Feud between Athens and Aegina (-481, c. 4, 1).  Gelon becomes tyrant of Gela (Sicily).</p>
490	<p>Ol. 72. 3. <i>Phaenippus</i>.  Second invasion of Europe by the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, guided by Hippias, and first Persian War. They take Eretria, after plundering and destroying Naxos on the voyage (c. 25, 1), and land in Attica, where they are defeated at MARATHON, Sept. 12, by the Athenians and Plataeans under the command of Miltiades (c. 3, 3).  Aeschylus present at Marathon, act. 35 (c. 14, 1).</p>
489	<p>Ol. 72. 4. <i>Aristides</i>.  Failure of Miltiades to take Paros; his indictment by Xanthippus (c. 10, 5; c. 21, 2), conviction and death.</p>
486	<p>Ol. 73. 3. <i>Archon</i> (not known).  Revolt of Egypt from Persia (c. 31, 3 n.) delays the threatened invasion of Greece.</p>
485	<p>Ol. 73. 4. <i>Philocrates</i>.  Death of Darius and accession of Xerxes (-465, c. 27, 1).  Gelon tyrant of Syracuse.  Simonides of Ceos fl. (c. 5, 4).</p>
484	<p>Ol. 74. 1. <i>Leostratus</i>.  Egypt recovered by the Persians.  Birth of HERODOTUS.  Aeschylus gains the prize in Tragedy (c. 14, 1).</p>
483	<p>Ol. 74. 2. <i>Nicodemus</i>.  Ostracism of ARISTIDES (c. 5, 4; c. 11, 1; c. 12, 3).</p>
482	<p>Ol. 74. 3. <i>Themistocles</i>.  Athens under the guidance of THEMISTOCLES (c. 4, 1).</p>



B.C.	
481	<p>Ol. 74. 4. <i>Archon</i> (not known).  Formation of the Isthmian confederacy under the hegemony of Sparta. They apply to Gelon for help.  Aristides recalled.</p>
480	<p>Ol. 75. 1. <i>Calliades</i>.  Second Persian War. Battles of THERMOPYLAE (c. 9, 1) and ARTEMISIUM (c. 8, 1), followed by that of SALAMIS (c. 14). Battle of Himera (Sicily).  Birth of EURIPIDES.  Pherecydes of Athens, the historian, fl.  ANAXAGORAS (c. 2, 3) begins his career at Athens.  The Sicilian Comedy. Epicharmus.</p>
479	<p>Ol. 75. 2. <i>Xanthippus</i>.  Second evacuation of Athens and occupation of it by Mardonius and the Persians.  Battles of PLATAEA and MYCALE (c. 29, 4 n.), followed by a renewal of the Isthmian confederation and the liberation of Thrace and Macedon from the Persian power.  Sestos besieged in the autumn and taken by the Athenian fleet under Xanthippus in the following spring.  Birth of Antiphon, the Athenian orator.</p>
478	<p>Ol. 75. 3. <i>Timosthenes</i>.  Themistocles at Sparta (c. 17, 2). Athens rebuilt and surrounded with a wall by his energy in spite of Sparta's opposition (c. 19).  Herodotus' history ends with the siege of Sestos.</p>
477	<p>Ol. 75. 4. <i>Adeimantus</i> (c. 5, 3).  The Athenian fleet under the command of Pausanias carries on the war against Persia, and conquers Byzantium and part of Cyprus.  The harbour of Piraeus completed and surrounded with a wall (c. 19, 2).  Themistocles wins a prize as tragic choragus, and Phrynichus with the <i>Phoenissae</i> (c. 5, 3)—a glorification of the victory of Athens at Salamis.</p>

B. C.	
476	Ol. 76. 1. <i>Phacdon</i> . Treachery of Pausanias (c. 23). Hegemony of the sea transferred from Sparta to Athens. Beginning of the Athenian empire. Themistocles at Olympia (c. 5, 2 ; c. 17, 2 ; c. 25, 1).
475	Ol. 76. 2. <i>Dromoclidēs</i> . Organisation of the Confederacy of Delos.
474	Ol. 76. 3. <i>Acetorides</i> . Hieron's naval victory off Cumae over the Tuscans.
472	Ol. 77. 1. <i>Chares</i> . Theron of Acragas d. Aeschylus <i>Persae</i> (c. 14, 1). TIMOCREON of Rhodes, the lyric poet, fl. (c. 21, 2).
471	Ol. 77. 2. <i>Praxiergus</i> . Themistocles ostracised withdraws to Argos (c. 23, 1). Pausanias, convicted of treason, is put to death (c. 23, 2). Birth of THUCYDIDES, the historian (c. 27, 1).
470	Ol. 77. 3. <i>Demotion</i> . The Persians expelled from Eion and the Dolopes from Scyros by the allied fleet under Cimon.
469	Ol. 77. 4. <i>Apsephion</i> . Archidamus, king of Sparta after Leotychides, banished.
468	Ol. 78. 1. <i>Theagenides</i> . Death of Aristides. Beginning of Pericles' influence (c. 2, 3). First tragic victory of SOPHOCLES, <i>aet.</i> 27. Birth of SOCRATES.
467	Ol. 78. 2. <i>Lysistratus</i> . Themistocles at Corcyra (c. 24, 1). Birth of Andocides, one of the ten Attic orators. Death of SIMONIDES (c. 5, 4 ; c. 15, 2).

B. C.	
466	<p>Ol. 78. 3. <i>Lysanias</i>.          Siege of Naxos (Thuc. I 98, Arist. <i>Vesp.</i> 355), during which Themistocles in his flight from Greece passed through the Athenian fleet (c. 25, 1).          Double victory of Cimon over Persians at the Eurymedon.</p>
465	<p>Ol. 78. 4. <i>Lysitheus</i>.          Revolt of Thasos from Athens.          Death of Xerxes ; soon after which Themistocles arrives in Persia and is introduced by Artabanus to his successor Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) (c. 27).          Attempted colonisation of Amphipolis by Athens.</p>
464	<p>Ol. 79. 1. <i>Archedemides</i>.          Rebellion of the Helots.          The Athenians under Cimon march to the aid of the Spartans.</p>
463	<p>Ol. 79. 2. <i>Tlepolemus</i>.          Thasos made subject by Athens.          Regeneration of Argos.</p>
461	<p>Ol. 79. 4. <i>Euthippus</i>.          The Athenians, sensitive of the affront put upon them by the Spartans before Ithome (Thuc. I 102), banish Cimon, who was chiefly accountable for the despatch of the expedition, renounce their alliance with Sparta and conclude a counter alliance with Argos and Thessaly. Megara joins them, and the Athenians accordingly build the long walls of Megara from the town to the harbour of Nisaea.</p>
460	<p>Ol. 80. 1. <i>Phrasiclides</i>.          The Areopagus stripped of its pre-eminent influence by Ephialtes and Pericles (c. 10, § 1. 34 n.) Simultaneous enlargement of the powers of the popular tribunals.          Revolt of the satrap Inaros against the King of Persia, and first year of war between Egypt and Persia (c. 31, 3).  <i>N.B.</i> Curtius places the DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES about this year (<i>Hist. Greece</i> Vol. II p. 361 Engl. ed.) and his birth in 525. Plutarch says he lived 65 years (c. 31, 4).</p>

B.C.	
458	<p>Ol. 80. 3. <i>Bion</i>.  Naval victory of the Athenians over the Aeginetans, Corinthians and Epidaurians at Aegina. Annihilation of the Aeginetan naval power.</p>
457	<p>Ol. 80. 4. <i>Mnesithides</i>.  Athenian defeat by the Spartans in the Battle of Tanagra. Recall of Cimon.</p>
456	<p>Ol. 81. 1. <i>Callias</i>.  Victory of the Athenians under Myronides over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.  Completion of the long walls from Athens to the Piraeus and Phalerum.  Aegina reduced to subjection (c. 4, 1).  Campaign of Tolmides round the Peloponnesus.</p>
455	<p>Ol. 81. 2. <i>Sosistratus</i>.  Third Messenian War ended by the capture of Ithome. The Messenians settled at Naupactus by the Athenians. Athenian army and fleet in Egypt annihilated.  First play (<i>Πελιδες</i>) of Euripides, <i>aet.</i> 25, which gains the prize.</p>
454	<p>Ol. 81. 3. <i>Ariston</i>.  Campaign of Pericles in the Crissaeen gulf.</p>
451	<p>Ol. 82. 2. <i>Antidotus</i>.  Ion of Chios begins to exhibit (c. 2, 3 n.)</p>
450	<p>Ol. 82. 3. <i>Euthydemus</i>.  Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta.  Thirty years' peace between Argos and Sparta.  Anaxagoras (c. 2, 3), <i>aet.</i> 50, leaves Athens.</p>
449	<p>Ol. 82. 4. <i>Pedieus</i>.  Renewal of the war with Persia under the conduct of Cimon, after whose death the Athenians win a double victory at Salamis in Cyprus by land and by sea over the Phoenicians, Cyprians and Cilicians.</p>

B.C.	
448	Ol. 83. 1. <i>Philiscus</i> . Attack of the Phocians on Delphi, which leads to a renewal of hostilities between Athens and Sparta.
447	Ol. 83. 2. <i>Timarchides</i> . Defeat of the Athenians at Coronea by the Boeotians, who abandon the Athenian alliance. <i>N.B.</i> Some place the death of Themistocles in this year.
440	Ol. 85. 1. <i>Morichides</i> . Melissus the philosopher defends Samos against Pericles (c. 2, 3, <i>Per.</i> c. 26, 1 ; c. 27, 1).

# ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

I Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρό- 111  
 τερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατὴρ γὰρ The parent-  
age of The-  
mistocles.  
 ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν  
 Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δῆμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος  
 5 φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν  
 Ἀβρότονον Θρήϊσσαν γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι  
 τὸν μέγαν Ἑλληνείν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

The larger numerals in heavy type in the outer margin represent the pp. of the Paris Ed. a. 1624.

For full information concerning the MSS and Editions of Plutarch, the reader is referred to my edition of the *Life of Timoleon* (Cambridge 1889). The *Codex Seitenstettensis* (S)—the oldest and most important of the MSS of Plutarch's *Lives* containing that of *Themistocles*—is preserved in the Benedictine Monastery of Seitenstetten in Austria. It is a parchment MS of the XIth century, and may be considered the best representative of the group to which F<sup>a</sup>—the XVth century MS, 1676 in the National Library at Paris—belongs. Fuhr's revised text of Sintenis is based on S.

Bl = the Teubner annotated edition (2d) by F. Blass, Leipzig 1883.

Bk = Immanuel Bekker's edition, Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1855-7.

Si<sup>1</sup> = Sintenis's complete edition in 4 vols., Leipzig 1839-1846.

Si<sup>2</sup> = that in Teubner's Bibliotheca, Leipzig 1877.

Fu = Fuhr's Sintenis's annotated edition, Berlin 1880.

Ko = Koraës's edition, Paris 1809-1814.

CH. I § 1 l. 6 Fuhr conjectures πέλων (i.e. ἐπελον) comparing Anthol. v 306, but Athenaeus XIII 576 c agrees with Plutarch.

2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ  
Θράτταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα,  
ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ 10  
πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προσ-  
τίθησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες

112 συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμ-  
νάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ καὶ κεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος  
ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα 15  
θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ τις αὖτε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν  
εὐ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ

3 Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεισθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου  
γενομένου δοκεῖ πανουργῶς τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ  
γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν. Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ 20  
Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλός ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ  
Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν,  
ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε  
καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστορήκεν.

II Ἐτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς

Stories of his boyhood. εἶναι, (καὶ) τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ  
προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτι-  
κός. ἐν (γὰρ) ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
μαθημάτων γιγνόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρραθύνει, 5  
καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους  
τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν.  
ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν  
2 παίδων· ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσ-  
καλος ὡς 'οὐδὲν ἔσει, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα 10

§ 2 l. 12 Fuhr reads διότι with S.

§ 3 l. 21 δῆλος Bl vulgo: δῆλον Fuhr with S.

CH. II § 1 l. 6 οἱ πολλοὶ Fuhr with S: οἱ λοιποὶ Bl vulgo.

πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν.' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύ-  
 εων τὰς μὲν ἡθοιοιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ  
 χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζόμενας, ὀκνηρῶς καὶ  
 ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δ' εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ  
 15 πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν,  
 ὥς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων. ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς 3  
 ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστεΐαις λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος  
 ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι  
 20 λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι  
 ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ  
 ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργά-  
 σασθαι. καίτοι Σησιμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε  
 25 διακούσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέ-  
 λισσον σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν  
 χρόνων ἀπτόμενος. Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ  
 νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντε-  
 στρατῆγαι πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ  
 30 συνδιέτριβε. μᾶλλον οὖν ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς  
 Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου  
 ξηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος  
 οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὐσαν δὲ δεινότητα  
 35 πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα  
 πεποιημένου καὶ διασφύζοντος ὥσπερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ  
 διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικα-  
 νικαῖς μείξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ

§ 2 l. 15 δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν is the needless correction of Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* i p. 88), approved by Hercher (*Hermes* xiii p. 303) and Fuhr: δῆλος ἦν οὐχ ὑπερορῶν vulgo: δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν S F<sup>a</sup> Bl.

§ 3 l. 21 ἐπίσταιτο S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: ἐπίσταται Si v.



"got the name of"

attribution

τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους  
5 σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν  
ἤδη πολιτενόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς 40  
πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς, ἀνώματος ἦν καὶ  
ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος  
ἀνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεγάλας  
ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ  
πολλάκις ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χειρόν, ὥς ὕστερον 45  
αὐτὸς ὁμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πώλους  
ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς  
6 προσήκει τύχῳσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτίσεως. ἃ  
δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἐνιοὶ διηγήματα πλάττοντες,  
ἀποκέρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον 50  
δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ  
περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεφεῦσθαι· καὶ  
τοῦναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ  
πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἐπεδείκνυε  
πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας 55  
καὶ παρορωμένας, ὥς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημα-  
γωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι γένωνται, τῶν πολλῶν  
N 67 | ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι

§ 5 l. 39 οὖν om. by S<sup>Fa</sup>. || 45 ἐξανισταμένη vulgo, corrected by Koraës.

§ 6 l. 53 τοῦ. πράττειν S<sup>Fa</sup> Fu Bl: πράττειν v. Cp. Xen. Mem. IV vii 6 τῶν οὐρανίων φροντιστὴν γίνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπε, Lucian Jur. conf. c. 6 ἀποτρέποντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θύειν, dial. deor. v 5 οὐδ' οἱ σπινθήρες οὐδὲ ἡ κάμνος ἀπέτρεπόν σε μὴ οὐχὶ πίνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ. || 56 παρορωμένας: the old reading was παρωραμένας, for which Cobet (Mnemos. N.S. vi p. 143) suggests παρωραμένας, referring to his Var. Lect. p. 160 for instances of the interchange of the two words in MSS || 57 γένωνται S<sup>Si</sup> Fu: φαίνονται F<sup>a</sup>: φαίνονται Si<sup>2</sup> Bl.

τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ <sup>His first appearance in public life.</sup>  
 σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὁρμὴ κρατῆσαι, <sup>Intense rivalry between him and Aristides.</sup>  
 δι' ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν  
 5 ἐφίεμενος ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς  
 τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύ-  
 οντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀρι-  
 τείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰεὶ πορευ-  
 ὄμενον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἢ  
 10 πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα μεираκιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν.  
 ἡράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ κάλλους Στη-  
 σίλειω, Κεῖου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ  
 φιλόσοφος ἰστόρηκεν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν  
 καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν  
 15 ἄλλ' ἢ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης  
ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. πρῶος γὰρ ὦν  
 φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικός τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀρι-  
 τείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ  
 πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετ'  
 20 ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡναγκάζετο τῷ  
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ  
 μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι  
 πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν αὐξήσιν.  
 λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι  
 25 καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής,  
 ὥστε νέος ὦν ἐτι|τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς  
 τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου  
 στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ

CH. III § 1 l. 5 τὰς om. by S F<sup>a</sup>. || 7 Ἀριστείδην: Cobet would read πρὸς Ἀριστείδην. || 8 πορευόμενος Si.

§ 2 l. 11 κάλλους S F<sup>a</sup> Fu: καλοῦ Bl Si vulgo. || 12 Κεῖου from Arist. c. 2, 2: Τίου S F<sup>a</sup>: Τηίου vulgo. || 23 αὐτοῦ Bl Si vulgo: αὐτῷ Fuhr. See explanatory notes.

πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν  
καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ <sup>30</sup>  
λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν  
περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν  
οὐκ ἐφ' ἃ τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
ἄλλοι πέρας φοντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι  
τῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀρχὴν <sup>35</sup>  
μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὗς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης  
Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥσκει, πόρρωθεν  
ἐτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

#### IV Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Δαυρεωτικὴν πρόσδοον

Foresight  
of Themis-  
tocles.

He urges the  
conversion of  
Athens  
from a land  
into a naval  
power, and  
application  
of the fund  
from the  
mines of  
Laurium to  
the war  
against the  
Aeginetans.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετὰλλων ἔθος ἐχόν-  
των Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν  
ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς  
χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἑάσαντας ἐκ τῶν <sup>5</sup>  
χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι  
τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλε-  
μον. ἤκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
μάλιστα, καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται  
πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. ἦ καὶ <sup>10</sup>  
ῥᾶον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ  
Πέρσας. μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ  
πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιζόμενοι παρείχον—ἐπι-  
σεῖων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ  
φιλονικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως <sup>15</sup>  
ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν

§ 3 l. 30 τόπους S.

§ 4 l. 38 ἐτι S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: ἤδη Si vulgo.

OH. IV § 1 l. 1 μὲν om. by S and F<sup>a</sup>. || 8 Fuhr conj. τότε ἐν,  
comparing *Aristides* II 187. || 9 νησιῶται S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: Αἰγινῆται  
Si vulgo.

- χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐπσιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς καὶ  
 πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ 3  
 μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς  
 20 τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις  
 ἀξιωμαχοὺς ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ καὶ  
 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μουνύων ὀπλιτῶν, ὥς  
 φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους  
 25 ἐποίησεν καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὥς  
 ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν  
 πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην  
 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦ- 4  
 τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὥς ἱστορεῖ  
 30 Στησίμβροτος. Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ  
 καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα  
 πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δ'  
 ἢ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀνέστησαν  
 35 αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς  
 ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου 5  
 διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὥς  
 οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι  
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον  
 40 αὐτούς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν 114  
 οἱ μὲν τινὲς φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ

§ 2 l. 17 αἷς with S Fu Bl Si (ed. 1824): αἷ Si<sup>2</sup> vulgo.

§ 3 l. 20 Cobet conj. τῷ πεζῷ. || ὁμόροις, the conjectural emendation of Bryan for ὁμοίοις.

§ 4 l. 31 τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸ καθαρὸν F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 5 l. 36 Fuhr conj. πεζῆς, but cp. Thuc. VII c. 7, 2; c. 16, 1.

φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς  
 ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορη-  
 γίας· οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχροῦτητα  
 πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὥς καὶ  
 τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδύμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ Διφιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπειλήσε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ  
ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον ἵππον, αἰνιζάμενος ἐγ-  
 κλήματα συγγενικά καὶ δίκας τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς  
 οἰκείους τινὰς ταράζειν. Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας  
 ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν καὶ ἀφανὴς  
 Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζό-  
 μενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν  
 παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν  
 ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν  
 ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα,  
 καὶ σκηναῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρα-  
σκευὴν οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν  
 γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν. ὁ δὲ μήπω γνῶριμος  
 γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ  
 παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσώφλισκανεν ἀλα-  
 ζονεῖαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς,  
 μεγάλην πῶν τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ  
 ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε  
 τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΡΙΟΣ  
ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ, ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ, ἈΔΕΪΜΑΝΤΟΣ ἤΡΧΕΝ.

CH. V § 11. 8 Διφιλίδης Fuhr Bl with S: Φιλίδης Si vulgo.

§ 21. 14 Ἑρμιόνης S but with γρ. Ἑρμιόνης mg in a more recent hand. || 16 παρ' αὐτῷ S F<sup>a</sup>: παρ' αὐτῷ corr. Bl Fuhr.

30 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνῆρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν 4

ἐκράστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων

Notwith-  
standing his  
ostentation  
and ambi-  
tion, he is  
popular with  
the people  
at large.

ἀπὸ στοματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ

περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν,

ὥς που καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον

35 εἶπεν αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων

παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὥς οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν

γενεοῖτο πομπῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ μέλος, οὐτ'

αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον χαριζόμενος.

πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε

40 νῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν λοιδοροῦντα μεγά-

λην οἰκούντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας

οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ

καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε

καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν

Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ

στρατηγοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκ-

στήναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν, ἐκπε-

5 πληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον. Ἐπικύδην δὲ

τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δημαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν

μὲν εἶπεν, μαλακὸν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ

χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρα-

τήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν

10 Θεμιστοκλέα δεισαντα, μὴ τὰ πράγματα δια-

φθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον

ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι

παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους. Ἐπαινέται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ 2

CH. VI § 1 l. 7 τῇ ψυχῇ S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: τὴν ψυχὴν Si vulgo.  
Cr. c. 16, 2 Ἀρνάκην ὀνόματι, Per. c. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ.

VI 2 The...

He endeavours to reconcile the divisions among the Greek states.

### Unsuccessful expedition to Tempe.

§ 21. 14 τὸν has probably been dropped by lipography after  
 ἔργον. || 20 καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ: Cobet (*V.L.* p. 371) would  
 expunge these words, 'ne perinepte bis idem dicatur.'

- Θεμιστοκλεί προσεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς  
θαλάσσης καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἄρτε-  
15 μίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν 2 at the  
Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡγείσ- 1st times!  
θαι κελεύοντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει  
(τῶν) νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους  
ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἐτέροις  
20 ἔπεσθαι, συνιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θε-  
μιστοκλῆς αὐτός τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ  
Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρήκε καὶ κατεπράυνε  
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνούμενος, ἂν  
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται πρὸς τὸν  
25 πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ  
πειθομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ τῆς  
σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ  
μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προσαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν,  
ὥς ἀνδρία μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ  
30 τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους. Ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου  
προσμείξαντος ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης  
τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλήθος, ἄλλας  
δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου  
35 περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην κύκλω  
εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἀφασθαι  
Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν  
ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν  
ἀπρόσμαχον ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν

Important  
service  
rendered by  
Themistocles in  
ceding the  
chief com-  
mand to  
Eurybiades.

Persian  
armada at  
Aphetæ.  
Alarm  
among the  
Greeks. The-  
mistocles  
determines  
them to stay  
and fight at  
the nearest  
instance of  
the Eubo-  
ans.

u. a. c. h. VII § 2 l. 26 διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ S F<sup>a</sup>: διόπερ δοκεῖ vulgo.

§ 3 l. 31 Ἀφέταις vulgo, corrected by Bekker. || 35 κύκλω is omitted in F<sup>a</sup>.



Hdt. says Them. kept much for himself — scandal against Them. Corinths + Spartans! ... when Hdt. wrote — Phot. misrepresents Hdt.

ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς 40  
οἱ Ἕλληνες πρόωνται, κρύφα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ  
διελέγοντο Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν  
πέμφαντες· ἃ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος  
ιστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.

4 Ἐναντιούμενου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν 45

Story about  
Architeles  
taken from  
Phanias.

Ἀρχιτέλους, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
νεὸς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα  
τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀπο-  
πλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον 50  
ἀρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους  
αθυμούντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος  
εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ  
δειπνῶν ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον  
ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ 55  
παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν  
τριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
τοὺς παρόντας, ὡς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν  
πολεμίων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος  
εἴρηκεν.

60

VIII Αἱ δὲ γινόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν

Indecisive  
battles off  
Artemisium.

βαρβάρων ναῦς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι  
κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ  
ἐπόησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
ᾤκησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους 5  
διδασχθέντας, ὡς οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι

§ 3 l. 40 ἀρχὴν S F<sup>a</sup>. || 42 πελαγῶντα S F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 4 l. 50 τριηρίτας Si<sup>2</sup> Bl Fu for the vulgate πολίτας. || 58  
τοὺς παρόντας S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl : τοὺς πολίτας Si vulgo.

καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων | οὔτε κραυγαὶ κομ-  
 πώδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσιν τι δεινὸν  
 ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι καὶ  
 10 μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων „; that...  
 καταφρονούντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι  
 καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμπλακέντας.  
 ὃ δὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε συνιδὼν ἐπὶ 2  
 τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν

15 ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεινὰν  
 κρηπὶδ' ἐλεγευρίας.

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν. ἔστι δὲ  
 τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμισιον ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 Ἑστίαϊαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπ-  
 20 ταμένος, ἀνταίρει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς  
 ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτην χώρας γενομένης Ὀλιζών. ἔχει  
 δὲ ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Προσ-  
 ηφίας, καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτὸν πέφυκε καὶ στηλαὶ 116  
 κύκλω λίθου λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ  
 25 χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χροῖαν καὶ ὁσμὴν κροκίζουσιν  
 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγεῖον ἦν 3  
 τότε γεγραμμένον

ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΩΝ ἈΝΔΡΩΝ ΓΕΝΕΑΣ Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ χώρας  
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷ δέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει  
 30 ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑ ΔΑΜΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ἔπει στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων,  
 ΣΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΥΤ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

δείκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ περίξ  
 θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδι-

OH. VIII § 2 l. 13 συνιδεῖν . . . εἰπὼν conj. Fuhr. || 15 ὅθι  
 Stephanus: vulgo ὅτι. || 20 ἀνταίρει S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: ἀντιτείνει  
 Si vulgo. || 21 Φιλοκτῆτην S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: Φιλοκτῆτη Si vulgo. || 23  
 περὶ αὐτὸν Reiske Fu Bl: περὶ αὐτό S F<sup>a</sup>: περὶ αὐτῷ Si vulgo.

δούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς καύσαι δοκοῦσι.

35

IX Τῶν μέντοι τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτε-

Retreat of the Greeks on hearing of the Persian victory at Thermopylae.

μίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων <sup>πυθόμενοι</sup> Λεωνίδαν τε κείσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν <sup>ἐπὶ τῇ</sup> Ξέρξην τῶν κατὰ γῆν παρόδων εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι <sup>ἐπὶ</sup> τεταγμέγων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις <sup>σοφίᾳ</sup> φρονούντων. παραπλέων δὲ τὴν

Plan of Themistocles for detaching the Ionian allies from Xerxes.

χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἥπερ κατάρσεις ἀνάγκαίαις καὶ καταφυγᾶς ἑώρα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων <sup>ἐπὶ τῇ</sup> ἐπιφανῇ γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εὐρίσκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸς ἰστὰς περὶ τὰ ναυλόχια καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκῆπτων Ἴωσι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς <sup>ἐκείνων</sup> ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δ' ἡλπιζεν ἢ μεταστήσειν τοὺς Ἴωνας ἢ συνταράξειν ὑποποτότερους τοὺς βαρβάρους γενο-  
2 μένους. Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἄνωθεν <sup>ἐμβalόντος</sup> εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ

Advance of Xerxes into Phocis.

τῶν Φωκέων ἄστη πυρπολοῦντος οὐ προσήμυναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

CH. IX § 1 l. 1 τὰ περὶ Θερμ. . . ἀπαγγελλόντων conj. Bl: περὶ Θερμ. ἀπαγγελλόντων S F<sup>a</sup>: περὶ Θερμ. ἀπαγγελθέντων vulgo. || 2 πυθόμενοι bracketed by Fuhr after Cobet. || 10 τῶν λίθων αὐτῶν S F<sup>a</sup>. || 12 ναυλόχια S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: ναύλοχα vulgo. || 18 συνταράξειν S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: ταραῖν vulgo. || 19 τοὺς βαρβάρους Held Fu Bl: τοῖς βαρβάρους vulgo.

δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς

25 Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν The Peloponnesians bent on the defence of their own isthmus only.  
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν. μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς

Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ὠρμημένων συνάγειν καὶ  
30 διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἰσθμόν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας εἶχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία, καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐ διεννοοῦντο μυριάσι στρατοῦ τοσαύταις.

35 δ' ἦν μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφῦναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, ὥς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἡρία προῖεμένων. Reluctance of the Athenians generally to quit Athens and trust their all to their ships. feeling that

X "Εὐθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ χρησμούς  
5 ἐπήγγεν αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανῆς ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας Device of Themistocles for making the Athenians take to their ships. The disappearance of the sacred serpent turned to account.

§ 31. 33 μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν F<sup>a</sup> Fu B1: μάχεσθαι μὲν S: μάχεσθαι μὲν γάρ Si vulgo. || 34 οὐδὲ διεννοοῦντο, ne cogitabant quidem, Cobet. || 37 ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ before Reiske. || 39 ἡρία B1 vulgo: ἡρώα S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr, cp. Catm. c. 31, 3 ἡρώα καὶ τάφους πατέρων.

CH. x § 11. 6 δὲ ἀφανῆς δέ F<sup>a</sup>: ἀφανῆς δέ without δὲ S; whence Blass suspects a lacuna before ἀφανῆς δέ, to be supplied from Herodotus VIII 41 λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι δῶν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδιδαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

ἀπαρχὰς εὐρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους <sup>10</sup> λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἢ θεὸς ὑψηγουμένη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς.

2 His interpretation of the oracle's 'wooden walls.'

τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγῶγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα θέλαν, <sup>15</sup>

οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπώνυμον ἐσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα

His decree passed for the embarkation of all fit for service.

γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι [τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ] τῇ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεοῦσῃ, <sup>20</sup>

τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας <sup>21</sup>

καὶ ἀνδράποδα σφάζειν | ἕκαστον ὡς δυνατόν.

3 κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλείστοι

Removal of their wives and families to Troezen; welcome reception accorded to them there.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ <sup>25</sup>

γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνν

117 τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ

γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο

ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς

ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν ἐξεῖναι τοὺς παῖδας παντα- <sup>30</sup>

χόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν

μισθοὺς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

§ 1 l. 11 λόγον διαδόντος, 'fatum sparserat' conj. Cobet: ep. c. 19, 2.

§ 2 l. 16 ἀνακαλεῖν S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: καλεῖν v. || 20 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ omitted in S, in F<sup>a</sup> added by a second hand: Ἀθηνῶν Reiske, Fr. Jacobs, Hercher (Hermes xiii 304), Fuhr: Ἀθηναίων v. Cobet (Mnem. N.S. vi 145): Ἀθηναίων Si Bauer: Ἀθηναίων Schäfer. || 23 ὡς δυνατόν S vulgo: ὡς ἂν δύνηται γρ. S (first hand) mg Fu Bl after Herod. VIII 41.

§ 3 l. 25 γενεὰς liberos Madvig Bl: γονέας Fu codd.

οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημόσιων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
 Ἀριστοτέλης μέν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου  
 35 πάγου βουλὴν πορίσασαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν  
 στρατευομένων ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς αἰτιωτά-  
 την γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριή-  
 ρεις, Κλειδῆμος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους 4  
 ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς  
 40 Πειραιᾷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ  
Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν  
 οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ  
 διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν  
 45 ὦν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορήσαι τοὺς  
 ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων. Ἐκπλεούσης 5  
 δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἴκτον τὸ θέαμα,  
 τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρείχε,  
 γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλη προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν  
 50 δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς καὶ δάκρυα  
 γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον.  
 καίτοι πολλὴν μὲν οἱ διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι  
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἡμέρων καὶ συντρόφων ζῶων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυ-  
 55 θυμία, μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων

Different  
accounts of  
how money  
was raised  
to pay the  
service.

Heartrend-  
ing scenes  
witnessed at  
the emigra-  
tion from  
Athens.

§ 3 l. 33 δημόσιων vulgo: ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ in aerario Cobet,  
 ' χρήματα enim δημόσια esse quae aerario debeantur, praesertim  
 ex bonis publicatis.'

§ 4 l. 40 τὸν Γοργόνειον (sc. ὀμφαλόν, umbonem in scuto) F<sup>a</sup>;  
 with τὸ Γοργόνειον we must understand τὸ πρόσωπον.

§ 5 l. 49 γενεὰς S F<sup>a</sup>: γονέας vulgo. || 50 Koraës after Amyot  
 καὶ δάκρυα γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων περιβολὰς: Schäfer also after  
 Bryan reads γονέων for γυναικῶν. || 52 πολλὴν μὲν οἱ Fuhr Bl:  
 πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ S F<sup>a</sup>: πολλοὶ μὲν vulgo.

ἐμβαίνουνσι τοῖς αὐτῶν <sup>καὶ</sup> τροφεύσιν. ἐν οἷς ἰστο-  
 ρεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους  
 πατρός οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ  
 τριήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα 60  
 καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὐ καὶ τὸ  
 δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σῆμα  
 τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους,  
 καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας  
 Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ δι' ὀργὴν  
 τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἀνατρέψῃ  
 τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστρά- 5  
 κιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταστα-  
 σιασθεῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει  
 ψήφισμα, τοῖς [ἐπὶ χρόνῳ] μεθεστῶσιν ἐξεῖναι  
 κατελθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ  
 2 Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. Εὐρυβιάδου 10

Διαισενσεις among the  
 Greeks in the fleet at  
 Salamis. The timid  
 Eurybiades is for the  
 removal of the fleet to  
 the Isthmus. Strenuous  
 opposition of Themi-  
 stocles.  
 δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντος  
 διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακοῦ  
 δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, αἶρειν δὲ  
 βουλομένου καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴσθμόν,  
 ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἤθροιστο τῶν Πελο- 15  
 ποννησίων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγεν·  
 ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονευόμενα λεχθῆναι  
 φασιν. τοῦ γὰρ Εὐρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν

§ 5 l. 62 καὶ καλούμενον ἄχρι νῦν F<sup>a</sup>.

CH. XI § 1 l. 2 καὶ ὅτι Koraës. || 8 ἐπὶ χρόνῳ is expunged by  
 Fuhr: Cobet conjectures ἐπὶ χρόνον: μὴ ἐπὶ φόνῳ Blass.

§ 2 l. 13 παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον . . . ἀπαίρειν Cobet: πρὸς κ.  
 Reiske Fu.

εἰπόντος ὁ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἐν τοῖς  
 20 ἀγῶσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους ῥαπί-  
 ζουσι, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 ἄλλα τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ στεφανοῦσιν.  
 Ἐπαρμένου δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, 3  
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη Ὑπέρτατον μὲν, ἀκούσων δέ.  
 25 θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου  
 καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 ἀνήγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον· εἰπόντος δὲ τινος,  
 ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας  
 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ προέσθαι τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ  
 30 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον Ὑπέρτατοι  
 εἶπεν ὥς μοχθηρὲς, τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τεῖχος  
 καταλελοιπάμεν, οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἀνύχων ἕνεκα  
 δουλεύειν, πόλις δ' ἡμῖν ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν  
 Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακόσιαι τριῆρεις, αἱ νῦν μὲν  
 35 ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ σφύζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν  
 βουλομένοις, εἰ δ' ἄπιτε δεύτερον ἡμᾶς προ- 4  
 δόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεται τις Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίους  
 καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν οὐ χείρονα  
 κεκτημένους ἢς ἀπέβαλον· ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμι-  
 40 στοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε τὸν  
 Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπόντες  
 οἰχῶνται. τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρωμένου τι λέγειν 118  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ Ἑρετριεύς ἔφη καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου

Stories told  
 of Themisto-  
 cles on this  
 occasion.

§ 3 l. 23 ἐπαιρομένου F<sup>a</sup>, whence Fuhr conjectures ἐπαρομένου.  
 || 27 Madvig thinks we should read either ἀνήγειν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν  
 λόγον, *redii ad orationem*, or ἀνήγειν αὐτὸς κτλ. || 28 διδάσκει  
 S F<sup>a</sup>: διδάσκει γ. || 29 ἐγκαταλείπειν F<sup>a</sup>. || 34 τριακόσιαι S F<sup>a</sup>.  
 νῦν μὲν ἡμῖν S F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 4 l. 41 ἀπολείποντες S F<sup>a</sup>. || 42 οἰχῶνται S: οἰχονται F<sup>a</sup>.



τίς ἐστὶ λόγος, οἱ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιραν  
μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δ' οὐκ ἔχετε; 45

XII Λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα

Desperate  
stratagem  
of Themisto-  
cles to make  
the Greeks  
fight in the  
straits of  
Salamis.

περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος  
ἄνωθεν τῆς νεὸς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ'  
ὀφθῆναι διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν  
νεῶν καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσιν· 5

διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ  
καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχήσοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
τῶν πολεμίων ὃ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ  
Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυνεν  
αἰγιαλοὺς, αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ 10  
στρατοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους ὥφθη,  
τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων ἐξερρήσαν οἱ  
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν  
ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,  
εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς 15  
νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς  
κυβερνήταις—ἐνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστο-  
κλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν  
προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται  
κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ 20

<sup>2</sup> The plot of  
Sicinnus. τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματεῖαν. ἦν δὲ τῷ  
μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμά-  
λωτος, εὖνους δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην

CH. XII § 1 l. 3 ἄνωθεν om. by Cobet. || 4 ἐπιδεξιᾶς S: ἐπὶ  
δεξιᾶς Fuhr. || 7 ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες Cobet (*Mnemos.* N.S. vi p.  
145): but see explan. notes. || 12 δέ om. by Fu. || 15 δέ: δὴ  
S Fu. || 17 Fuhr places a full stop after κυβερνήταις.

25 κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἰρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως  
 ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδι-  
 δράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρῆναι φυγεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ τaráττονται τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς  
 30 ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτικὴν  
 δύναμιν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας  
 λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἤσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς  
 ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν  
 ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ'  
 35 ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν  
 κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως  
 ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων. τούτων δὲ 3  
 πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου  
 πρῶτος αἰσθόμενος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν  
 40 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ ὦν φίλος, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ἐξωστρακισμένος, ὥσπερ  
 εἴρηται· προελθόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ  
 φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην καλο-  
 καγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας  
 45 ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι  
 καὶ συμποθυμῆσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον,  
 ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ναυμαχήσωσιν. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς  
 50 ἄλλους ἐπήει στρατηγούς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐπὶ  
 τὴν μάχην παροξύνων· ἔτι δ' ὁμως ἀπιστούντων

Arrival of  
 Aristides,  
 and private  
 conference  
 between him  
 and The-  
 mistocles.

§ 2 l. 32 ἤσθη καὶ τέλος omitted in S F<sup>a</sup>: Madvig conjectures  
 δέλτους εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε, tabellas et tesseras circummisit. || 35 περι-  
 βάλλεσθαι S F<sup>a</sup>.

ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἥς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν· ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὀρμήσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

55

XIII Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθήστο

Preparations  
for the flight.  
Position of  
Xerxes' seat.

τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παρά-  
ταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ  
'Ηράκλειον, ἣ βραχεὶ πόρῳ διείργεται  
τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ νήσος· ὡς δ' Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν  
μεθορίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων  
Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς  
πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὧν ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράφ-  
εσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα. Θεμι-

Sacrifice  
of three  
Persian  
captives to  
Dionysus.

στοκλεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη  
σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχ-  
μάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ἰδέσθαι τὴν  
ὄψιν, ἐσθῆτι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι  
διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι  
τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους  
ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέ-  
λαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ,  
119 ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμνη, τὸν Θεμι-  
στοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων  
κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμωστῇ  
Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν  
[τε] καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπλα-

§ 3 l. 52 Τηνία Palmer: Τενεδία μία codd.: μία om. by Reiske.  
CH. XIII § 1 l. 3 τὸν Ἡράκλειον S F<sup>a</sup>. || 6 μεθορίᾳ Fu Bl w. S:  
μεθορίῳ vulgo.

§ 2 l. 14 Σανδαύκης S F<sup>a</sup>: Σανδάκης Fu Bl cl. S Arist. 9, 2.  
|| 20 καθιερώσαι S F<sup>a</sup> v.: καθιερεῦσαι Si Fu Bl cl. Arist. c. 9, 2.  
|| 22 τε om. in S.

γέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα  
καὶ δεινόν, οἶον εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ  
25 πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων  
ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ  
πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ  
καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες  
ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν  
30 συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος  
καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας  
ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε.

XIV Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν  
νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἂν εἰδῶς  
καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγωδίᾳ Πέρ-  
σαις λέγει ταῦτα.

Battle of  
Salamis.  
Number of  
the fleets  
and plan  
of attack.

5 Ξέρξης δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν  
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει  
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος  
οὐσῶν ἐκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] καταστρώματος  
10 μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται  
τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὀπλίται. Δοκεῖ 2  
δ' οὐχ ἦττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ  
τὸν τόπον συνιδῶν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον  
ἀντιπρώρους καταστήσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς  
15 τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ὥραν παραγενέσθαι τὸ

§ 2 l. 30 τελεσθῆναι F<sup>a</sup>.

CH. XIV § 1 l. 3 τραγωδία is om. by Cobet V.L. p. 371.

|| 5 Ξέρξης . . χιλιάς μὲν νεῶν ἦγε πλῆθος S F<sup>a</sup>. || 6 ὑπέρκοποι  
τάχεις S F<sup>a</sup>. || 9 ἀπὸ καταστρώματος S F<sup>a</sup>, rightly, I think.

§ 2 l. 13 συνιδῶν v. : εἰδῶς S F<sup>a</sup>.

πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους αἰεὶ καὶ κύμα διὰ  
 τῶν στενῶν κατάγουσαν· ὃ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς  
 οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς ἀλιτενεῖς οὔσας καὶ ταπεινο-  
 τέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις  
 ἀνεστῶσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑψορόφους <sup>20</sup>  
 καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπίπτον  
 καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὁξέως  
 προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν  
 ὡς ὀρῶντι μάλιστα τὸ συμφέρον, ὅτι ἦν κατ'  
 ἐκείνον ὁ Ξέρξου ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναὺν ἔχων <sup>25</sup>  
 μεγάλην καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε καὶ  
 ἠκόντιζεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως  
 ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτος.  
 3 Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς  
 ὁ Παιανιεύς ὁμοῦ πλέοντες, ὡς αἱ νῆες ἀντί- <sup>30</sup>  
 πρῶροι προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συνερείσασαι τοῖς  
 χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς  
 αὐτῶν τριήρους ὑποστάντες καὶ τοῖς δόρασι  
 τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξέβαλον· καὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόμενον ναυαγίων <sup>35</sup>  
 Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην ἀνήνεγκεν.

XV Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος φῶς μὲν

Supernatural ἐκλάμψαι μέγα λέγουσιν Ἑλευσινόθεν,  
 signs. ἦχον δὲ καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον κατ-

§ 2 l. 16 αἰεὶ ἐκ πελάγους S F<sup>a</sup>. || 17 τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς μὲν S F<sup>a</sup> Fu.  
 || 18 ἀλιτενεῖς S F<sup>a</sup>: γρ. ἀδιγεनेῖς S<sup>1</sup> mg: ἀλιτενεῖς Bryan. || 24 ὅτι  
 ἦν (ὅτ' ἦν S F<sup>a</sup>) κατ' ἐκείνον . . . καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους Fu Bl with  
 S F<sup>a</sup>. || 26 ἐτόξευε S Fu Bl: ἐτοξεύετο (not, as Si notes, ἐτόξευσε)  
 F<sup>a</sup>. || 28 τε om. S F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 3 l. 30 Παιανιεύς Bl conj.: Πεδιεύς v.: Πελιεύς codd.:  
 Πειραιεύς Si: Αἰγυλιεύς conj. Fuhr. || 33 αὐτῶν Bl: αὐτῶν vulgo  
 Si. || 35 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr Bl: μετ' ἄλλων vulgo.

ἔχειν πεδίου ἄχρι θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ  
 5 πολλῶν τὸν μυστικὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἰακχον. ἐκ δὲ  
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φθειγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ  
 γῆς ἀναφερόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὖθις ὑπονοστεῖν  
 καὶ κατασκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἕτεροι δὲ  
 φαντάσματα καὶ εἰδῶλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων  
 10 ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων πρὸ  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριήρων· οὓς εἵκαζον Αἰακίδας  
 εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ  
 τὴν βοήθειαν. Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμ-  
 βάνει ναὺν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος 2  
 15 τριηραρχῶν, ἧς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας  
 ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυῆσιν. οἱ δ'  
 ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλήθος  
 ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περι-  
 πίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο μέχρι δείλης  
 20 ἀντισχόντας, ὥσπερ εἶρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν  
 ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς  
 οὐθ' Ἑλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον  
 εἵργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρία μὲν καὶ προ-  
 θυμία κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμη δὲ καὶ  
 25 δεινότητι τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους.

Great vic-  
 tory of the  
 Greeks.

XVI Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι 120  
 θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἔπε-  
 χεῖρει διὰ χρωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν After the  
 battle,  
 Xerxes talks

CH. XV § 1 l. 9 φαντάσματα Fu Bl with S F<sup>a</sup>: φάσματα v. Si.  
 || 10 ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀνατενέει τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων Bl<sup>1</sup> conj.: ἀναιτενεῖς  
 τὰς χ. ἐπεχόντων S F<sup>a</sup>: ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων Si Fu:  
 ἀπ' Αἰ. τ. χ. ἐπεχόντων Bl<sup>2</sup>. || 25 τῇ S F<sup>a</sup>: om. v.

§ 2 l. 20 ὥσπερ εἶρηκε S F<sup>a</sup>: ὡς v. || 22 ἐνάλιον: ἐν ἄλλο S F<sup>a</sup>.  
 CH. XVI § 1 l. 2 ἀπόξευεν S.

about  
throwing a  
mole across  
the strait to  
Salamis.

Themisto-  
cles suggests  
a means of  
preventing  
his escape,  
but is over-  
ruled by the  
caution of  
Aristides.

τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, ἐμφράξας  
τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ',<sup>5</sup>  
ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου, λόγῳ γνώ-  
μην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεύγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπι-  
πλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, ὅπως  
ἔφη· τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβω-  
μεν· δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου<sup>10</sup>  
καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι· Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι  
τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἐὰν δὲ  
κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ  
καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα<sup>15</sup>  
2 τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος  
ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσῇ θεάσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ'  
ῆσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς  
παρῶν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρει-  
μένα καὶ βουλευσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων·  
οὐ τὴν οὔσαν οὖν· ἔφη· δεῖ γέφυραν, ὧ Θεμιστό-<sup>20</sup>  
κλεις, ἡμᾶς ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν, εἴπερ οἶόν τε,  
προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης· Οὐκοῦν· εἶπεν ὁ  
Θεμιστοκλῆς· εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὥρα  
σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως<sup>25</sup>  
ἀπαλλαγῇσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.  
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἔπεμπε τινὰ τῶν  
βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώ-  
τοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην ὀνόματι, φράζειν  
30 βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησι  
δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς

§ 21. 20 δεῖν S. || 26 ἀπαλλαγῇσεται S Reiske: ἀπαλλαγ-  
σηται v. || 29 ὀνόματι S F<sup>a</sup>: ὄνομα v. See n. on c. 6 § 11.7.

τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν  
 γέφυραν· Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως <sup>3</sup>  
 παραινεί σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ [θάλατταν] καὶ  
<sup>35</sup> περαιουῖσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινὰς διατριβὰς  
 τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν.  
 Ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενό- <sup>which causes</sup>  
 μενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο <sup>the hasty</sup>  
 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείραν ἡ Θεμι- <sup>retreat of</sup>  
<sup>40</sup> στοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ  
 παρέσχεν, εἶγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνά-  
 μεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ  
 τῶν ὄλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινήτων ἀριστεύ-  
 σαί φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, <sup>Distribution</sup>  
 καίπερ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον <sup>of prizes of</sup>  
 ἀπέδωκαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρή- <sup>valour</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> σαντες εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ <sup>among the</sup>  
 τὴν ψήφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον <sup>Greeks.</sup>  
 μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινε ἀρετῇ, <sup>Foremost</sup>  
 δεῦτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. <sup>place</sup>  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν <sup>assigned to</sup>  
<sup>10</sup> καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἐκείνῳ δέ <sup>Aegina</sup>  
 σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδωκαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ <sup>among</sup>  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον ἔδω- <sup>states.</sup>  
 ρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς ἄχρι <sup>Honours</sup>  
 τῶν ὄρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὀλυμπίων <sup>paid to The-</sup>  
<sup>15</sup> τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ <sup>mistocles.</sup>

§ 3 l. 34 αὐτοῦ S: αὐτοῦ v. Bl: αὐτοῦ Fu. || θάλατταν is bracketed by Blass as a gloss or out of its proper place.

CH. XVII § 2 l. 10 ἀνδρίας S F<sup>a</sup>: ἀνδρείας vulgo. || 12 πρῶτον S F<sup>a</sup>. || 15 ἐξῆς Fuhr with S.



στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν 20 καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.

XVIII Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότητος, εἰ

Some notable apophthegms of Themistocles, indicative of an ambitious temper.

δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἰρεθεῖς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, 5 ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο τὸ προσπίπτον εἰς

τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ πλείστον δύνασθαι. τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας 10 ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρήλθε, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν 121 'Ἀνελοῦ σαντῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἰ Θεμιστοκλῆς.'

<sup>2</sup> Πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, Ἀντιφάτην, 15 ὑπερφηάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, 'ὦ μειράκιον' εἶπεν 'ὄψέ μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ' ὁμοῦ νοῦν ἐσχῆκαμεν.' ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ 20

CH. XVIII § 1 l. 8 παντοδαπῶς Fuhr with S. || 11 περικειμένους Si<sup>1</sup>: περικέμενα v.

§ 2 l. 18 ὁμοῦ S F<sup>a</sup>: ἅμα v.

χειμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν [κινδυνεύοντας],  
 εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ  
 κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,  
 ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν  
 25 πόλιν· 'Ἀληθῇ λέγεις' εἶπεν 'ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ  
 Σεριφίος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἐνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος.'  
 'Ἐτέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι 3  
 χρήσιμον διαπεπράχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου  
 πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου  
 30 πράξειςιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν  
 ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι, λέγουσαν ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχο-  
 λιῶν τε μεστή καὶ κοπῶδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ  
 πάντες ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολ-  
 ᾶζοντες, τὴν δ' ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπειν 'Ἀληθῇ  
 35 λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα·'  
 'κάμου τοίνυν' ἔφη 'τότε μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν  
 ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;' τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ 4  
 καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν  
 'Ελλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησιν ἐπι-  
 40 τάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίους δ' ἑαυτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ  
 τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον. ἴδιος δέ τις  
 ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων  
 ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει·  
 τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῇ  
 45 τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρη-  
 μάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός.

§ 2 l. 21 κινδυνεύοντας is bracketed by Fuhr, omitted by Blass: Si<sup>1</sup> reads καὶ κινδυνεύοντας.

§ 3 l. 31 ὑστεραίαν Si: ὑστέραν vulgo.

§ 4 l. 37 τῷ δὲ υἱῷ ἐντρυφώσης τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δι' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ F<sup>a</sup>.

XIX Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός

Themistocles rebuilds the city. His device to procure for the Athenians the opportunity of fortifying it.

τις ἦν· γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχειρεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὥς μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας 5 μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὥς δ' οἱ πλείστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἦκε

μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγο- 10 ρούντος ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἡρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς 15 Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, 2 ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν. Ἐκ

Enlargement and fortification of the town and harbour of Piraeus.

δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυΐαν κατανοήσας καὶ 20 τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκείνοι μὲν γάρ, ὥς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ 25 συνεθίσαι ξῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς διέδωσαν

λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας Ποσειδῶνα .  
 δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε,  
 30 Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ 3  
 κωμικός φησι, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν  
 γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠὔξησε  
 κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς  
 35 ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. Διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν  
 Πνυκί πεπονημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν  
 θάλατταν ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν  
 ἀπέστρεψαν, οἴομενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν  
 40 ἀρχὴν γενέσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ'  
 ἥττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς  
 ναυτικῆς διενεόθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν 122  
 Ἑλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατήρεν  
 εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 5 Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινὰ πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ὠφέλιμον μὲν  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ  
 πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων  
 Ἀριστείδη μόνῳ φράσαι κελεύοντων,  
 κὰν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαίνειν, ὁ μὲν  
 10 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ  
 τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον

Hellenic  
policy and  
further  
ambitious  
projects of  
Themisto-  
cles for the  
naval  
aggrandise-  
ment of  
Athens.

§ 2 l. 28 τὸν Ποσειδῶ Bl.

§ 3 l. 30 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς S F<sup>a</sup>. Fuhr suggests the omission of  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς. || ὥσπερ . . . φησι S F<sup>a</sup>: ὡς . . . λέγει vulgo. ||  
 31 προσέμαζεν libri: corr. Xylander.

CH. XX § 1 l. 2 δυνάμεως διενεόθη S F<sup>a</sup>. || 5 μὲν om. S.

· προελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πρᾶτ-  
 τειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελ-  
 εστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι <sup>15</sup>  
 διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέ-  
 2 ταξαν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις

He gives  
 offence to  
 the Lacedae-  
 monians by  
 his patriotic  
 resistance  
 to their  
 scheming  
 at the Am-  
 phictyonic  
 council.  
 They  
 second the  
 political  
 combination  
 against him  
 at Athens.

τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως  
 ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ  
 συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, <sup>20</sup>  
 φοβηθεῖς μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους,  
 ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνε-  
 δρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν  
 ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις,  
 συνεῖπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς <sup>25</sup>  
 γνώμας τῶν Πυλαγόρων, διδάξας ὡς  
 τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν  
 αἱ τοῦ πολέμου μετασχοῦσαι καὶ τούτων αἱ  
 πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῆς  
 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς <sup>30</sup>  
 μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ  
 συνέδριον. Ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα  
 προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ  
 τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες. 35

XXI Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἐπαχθὴς  
 περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν· οἷα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά  
 φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

§ 1 l. 13 προελθὼν S F<sup>a</sup>: παρελθὼν vulgo.

§ 2 l. 28 αἱ πλείεσται S F<sup>a</sup>. || 34 προῆγοντο libri: προῆγον,  
 altius atque altius provehebant, Reiske.

5 δύο γὰρ ἤκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθὼ καὶ  
 Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ' Themisto-  
cles levies  
fines on the  
insular and  
other allies  
of Athens.  
 αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλας δύο, Πενίαν καὶ  
 Ἀπορίαν, ὑφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι  
 χρήματα ἐκείνῳ. Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος 2  
 10 μελοποιὸς ἐν ἄσματι καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ὥς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ Bitter lam-  
poons on him  
by the poet  
Timocreon  
of Rhodes.  
 χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου κατ-  
 ελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον  
 προεμένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως

15 ἀλλ' εἰ τί γα Παγσανίδαν ἢ καὶ τί γα Ξάνθιππον αἰνεῖς στρ.  
 ἢ τί γα Λεγυγίδαν, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω,  
 ἄνδρ' ἱερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν  
 ὃς ἦλθ', ἕνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἤχθαρε Λατῶ,  
 ψεύσταν, δάδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ζεῖνον 3  
 εἶοντα ἀντ.  
 20 ἀργυροῖσι κυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεῖς οὐ κατὰ γεν  
 εἰς πατρίδ' Ἰάλγσον,  
 λαβὼν δὲ τρι' ἀργυροῦ τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς Ὀλεθρον,  
 τοὺς μὲν κατὰ γων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ  
 καίνων,  
 ἀργυροῦ δ' ὑπόπλεος, Ἰσθμοῖ δὲ πανδόκευς γελοῖος ἐπ.  
 25 Ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων· τοῖ δ' ἥσθιον κηΐχοντο μὴ ὦραν  
 Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι.

πολὺ δ' ἀσελγεστέρα καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη μᾶλλον 4

OH. XXI § 2 l. 15 αἰνέσεις S F<sup>a</sup>. || 18 ὃς ἦλθ' ἕνα λῶστον Blass :  
 ὃς ἦλθε λεκτός S F<sup>a</sup> : ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῶστον Fu v. || δ' ἤχθαρε S F<sup>a</sup>.

§ 3 l. 20 κυβαλικοῖσι Bl Fu after Bergk : κυμβαλικοῖσι S F<sup>a</sup> :  
 σκυβαλικοῖσι vulgo : σκυβαλικοῖσι Si after Hermann. || κατήγαγεν  
 S F<sup>a</sup>. || 21 πάτραν Si with Hermann. || 22 ἐπ' S F<sup>a</sup>. || 23 διώκων  
 S F<sup>a</sup>. || 24 ἀργυρίου δ' S F<sup>a</sup> : ἀργυρίων v. || ὑπόπλεος Blass after  
 Ahrens : ὑποπλείος F<sup>a</sup> : ὑπόπλεως S vulgo. || πανδόκευς γελοῖος  
 conj. Blass : πανδόκευ γελοῖος S : γελοῖως πανδόκευ Enger Fu.

εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημία χρήται μετὰ  
τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων,  
ἄσμα ποιήσας, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή· 30

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος  
κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλανας τίθει,  
ὥς εἰκόσ καὶ δίκαιον.

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν  
συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὥς 35  
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταύτ'  
ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

οὔκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μόνος  
Μήλοισιν ὠρκιατόμει,  
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κάλλοι δὴ πονηροί· 40  
οὔκ ἐγὼ μόνα κόλογρις·  
ἐντὶ κάλλαι ἀλώπεκες.

- 123 XXII Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν  
ἡδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγ-  
κάζετο λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξ-  
εων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας 'Τί 5  
κοπιᾶτε' εἰπεῖν 'ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολ-  
λάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;' ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς  
πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος,  
ἦν Ἀριστοβούλῃν μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ὥς ἄριστα  
τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι βουλευσάμενος, 10

§ 4 l. 28 κέρχεται βλασφημία v. || 30 ἡ ἀρχή F<sup>a</sup>. || 31 τοῦδε μέλεος S F<sup>a</sup>. || 38 μόνος Ahrens Bl Fu : μόνος v. || 39 μήλοισιν S. || ὠρκιατόμει Blass after Bergk : ὀρκιατομεί Si Fu after Hermann : ὀρκια τομή S F<sup>a</sup> : ὀρκια τέμει vulgo.

CH. XXII § 1 l. 3 αὐτοῦ S. || 4 μνημονεύων S Bryan : μνημονομένων v. || 6 εἰπεῖν S Bl : εἶπεν vulgo (εἰπὼν Fuhr after Bryan).

Growing  
jealousy of  
Themisto-  
cles, who  
gives offence  
by his mani-  
festations of  
personal  
vanity.

πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ  
 τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων  
 οἱ δῆμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς  
 βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων  
 15 ἐκφέρουσιν. Ἐκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους 2  
 εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, *He is*  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος. τὸν μὲν *ostracised.*  
 οὖν ἐξοστρακισμόν ἐποίησαντο κατ'  
 20 αὐτοῦ κολοῦντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν  
 ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὓς  
 ὄντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα  
 δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου  
 25 καὶ κουφισμός, ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς  
 ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν  
 ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

XXIII Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως *After his*  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ *ostracism,*  
 περὶ Πausανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκεί- *during his*  
 νου παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὰς. *exile at*  
 5 ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεω- *Argos, the*  
 βώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν, *exposure of*  
 ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. *the treason*  
 Ὁ γὰρ Πausανίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ *of Pausanias*  
 τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν *and the*  
*discovery of*  
*his corre-*  
*spondence*  
*raise the*  
*presumption*  
*against The-*  
*mistocles.*

§ 1 l. 13 προβάλλουσι S.

§ 2 l. 17 μόνον S: μόνην v. || 20 κολοῦντες F<sup>a</sup>.

CH. XXIII § 1 l. 5 Λεωβώτης Cobet Bl Fu: Λεωβότης v. || 6  
 ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν Cobet Bl Fu: ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν  
 Si vulgo.



ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, καίπερ ὄντα <sup>10</sup>  
 φίλον· ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας  
 καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς, ἐθάρσυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοι-  
 νωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξ-  
 ύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς πονηροὺς καὶ <sup>15</sup>  
 ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο  
 τοῦ Πausανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπέ-  
 πατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν  
 οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι  
 προσδοκῶν αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῇ γενή- <sup>20</sup>  
 σεσθαι, σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων  
 3 καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Πau-  
 σανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι  
 καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον  
 τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν <sup>25</sup>  
 αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγοροῦν δ' οἱ  
 φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος,  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου  
 μάλιστα ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις·  
 διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν <sup>30</sup>  
 πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὥς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ  
 ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκῶς μηδὲ  
 βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους  
 αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ <sup>35</sup>

Themisto-  
cles tries in  
vain to  
defend  
himself by  
letters  
against the  
charge of  
Medism pre-  
ferred by his  
political  
opponents  
at the in-  
stance of the  
Spartans.  
Envoys sent  
to arrest  
him.

§ 2 l. 11 τῆς πόλεως Cobet coll. v. 1. || 13 γράμματα S F<sup>a</sup> Bl  
Fu : τὰ γράμματα Si v. || 16 ἀπετρέψατο S F<sup>a</sup>. || 19 παύσεσθαι S.

§ 3 l. 22 δέ S. || 31 ὥς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ Madvig S pr. : ἔγραφεν  
ὥς ἄρχειν μὲν αἰεὶ vulgo. || 34 αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις F<sup>a</sup> S (ubi αὐτόν)  
Bl Fu : καὶ πολεμίοις αὐτόν Si vulgo.

τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς  
εἶρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν κριθη-  
σόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

XXIV Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκείνος εἰς Κέρκυραν  
διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν His flight  
from Argos  
to Corcyra.  
εὐεργεσίας. γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς  
πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, Being pur-  
sued, he  
seeks pro-  
tection from  
Admetus.  
5 ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας  
τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα  
κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἄποικον. Ἐκείθεν δ' εἰς 2  
Ἦπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθη-  
ναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς  
10 ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους, καταφυγὼν πρὸς  
Ἄδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς  
δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ  
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ,  
δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι,  
15 τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ 124  
Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῇ καὶ πρόσφατον  
φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτη  
φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἰκέτης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου  
καταστάς ἰδιὸν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον.  
20 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν  
ἐστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην  
σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἰκεσίαν τῶν  
Μολοσσῶν. Ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναικα 3  
τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστο-  
25 κλεῖ τὸ ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν

§ 3 l. 37 ἀνάγειν S Bryan Bl Fu : ἀγειν Koraës Si : ἐνάγειν v.  
CH. XXIV § 2 l. 9 ἑαυτόν S : αὐτόν vulgo.

ἐστὶν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν  
 Ἀδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιοτο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας  
 τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα,  
 διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγῶδῃσαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν. ἐκεῖ  
 δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας <sup>30</sup>  
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέ-  
 στείλει· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας  
 ἐθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ

The story of  
 his going to  
 Sicily and  
 seeking the  
 daughter of  
 King Hieron  
 in marriage,  
 altogether  
 improbable  
 and why.

οἷδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν  
 Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦ- <sup>35</sup>  
 σαι φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἰέρω-  
 νος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα  
 πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψ-  
 ἀμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν <sup>40</sup>  
 ἀπᾶραι. XXV Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστὶν οὕτω  
 γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας  
 ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίαν Ἰέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνὴν τινα  
 κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν <sup>5</sup>  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρή τὴν σκηνὴν  
 διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλύσαι τοὺς  
 ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι.

Story of his  
 further  
 adventures,  
 as told by  
 Thucydides.

Θου-  
 κυδίδης δ' ἐκπλεῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ <sup>10</sup>  
 Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη τῶν πλεόντων,

§ 3 l. 39 ἀποτριψάμενου S F<sup>a</sup>: ἀποστρεψάμενου vulgo.

CH. XXV. § 1 l. 9 δ' ἐκπλεῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸν Blass after Madvig  
 (who reads δὲ φησιν ἐκπλεῦσαι αὐτόν): δὲ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτόν  
 vulgo: δὲ καὶ πλεῦσαι φησιν αὐτόν Si Fu after Benseler.

μέχρι οὐ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς Νάξον κατα-  
 φερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε  
 φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ  
 15 τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἄπει- 2  
 λῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλὰ  
 χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν,  
 οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι καὶ λαβέσθαι  
 20 τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ The amount  
 πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν of his  
 φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανε- property  
 ρῶν γενομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς and the  
 τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, disposal  
 25 Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι γενέσθαι τὸ thereof.  
 πλήθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια τάλαντων κεκτημένου  
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς He goes to  
 Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ἤσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ the Aeolic  
 θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν Cyme, and  
 λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἐργο- thence,  
 5 τέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἦν γὰρ ἡ θήρα being  
 λυσιτελῆς τοῖς γε τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ watched,  
 παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι, διακοσίῳ ἐπικεκη- escapes to  
 5 ρυγμένῳ αὐτῷ τάλαντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Aegae to his  
 βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγὰς, Αἰολικὸν guest-friend  
 Nicogenes,  
 who sends  
 him on in a  
 closed litter  
 to seek  
 refuge with  
 the king of  
 Persia

§ 1 l. 12 Νάξον Bl v. : Θάσον Fuhr with S : Θάσσον (sic) F<sup>a</sup>.

CH. XXVI § 1 l. 4 Cobet suggests the omission of λαβεῖν, com-  
 paring *Timoleon* c. 19 τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις αἱ παρεφύλαττον  
 αὐτούς; but in *Eumenes*. c. 13, 6 we have αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας  
 ἀνελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο καιρός. || 6 τοῖς γε τό Blass after Fuhr : τοῖς  
 τότε S F<sup>a</sup> : τοῖς τό v.

πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ 10  
 ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν  
 ἐκέκτετο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε.  
 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψε·  
 εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὀλβιος ὁ  
 τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων 15  
 γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ  
 ταυτί

ΝΥΚΤΙ ΦΩΝΗΝ, ΝΥΚΤΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ, ΝΥΚΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΔΙΔΟΥ.

- 2 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατακοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θेमιστοκλῆς  
 ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστροῦς 20  
 αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ  
 τραχήλῳ· γενόμενον δ' αἰτόν, ὥς ἤψατο τοῦ  
 προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἐξᾶραι  
 καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς  
 κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ στήσαι βεβαίως 25  
 αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου δέλματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλα-  
 125 γέντα. πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους  
 μηχανησαμένου τι τοιόνδε. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ  
 γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς  
 ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει 30  
 3 καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας  
 ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὥς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς

§ 1 l. 14 ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους π. Bl vulgo: ὁ Νικο-  
 γένους παιδαγωγός Fuhr with S. || 16 ἐν μέτρῳ S Reiske conj. Bl  
 Fu: μέτρῳ vulgo.

§ 2 l. 19 κατακοιμηθεὶς S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu; κοιμηθεὶς vulgo. || 25 κηρυ-  
 κίου S F<sup>a</sup>. || ἐπὶ τούτῳ S Fu: ἐπὶ τούτου Bl v. || 28 τοιόνδε S F<sup>a</sup>  
 Bl Fu: τοιοῦτον Si vulgo.

- ὀράσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι  
 35 κατακεκλειμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ  
 σκηναῖς κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἄρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ  
 κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο,  
 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ  
 40 πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν  
 ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις  
 βασιλέως. XXVII Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων  
 ὁ Λαμφακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκὸτος (who was  
 Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Artaxerxes,  
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν. the son of  
 5 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δεῖνων καὶ Κλείταρχος, as some say,  
 καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, Xerxes  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονι-  
 κοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι,  
 καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συντεταραγμένοις.  
 10 Ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος Through  
 παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Artabanus  
 Ἄρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, λέγων Ἑλλήν himself,  
 μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ the visir,  
 περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ πρὸς ἃ according to  
 15 τυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκείνος. Phnias, or,  
 ὁ δὲ φησιν Ὡ ξένε, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν as others  
 the king. 2

§ 3 l. 35 κατακεκλειμένας S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu : κατακεκλεισμένας Si v.  
 || 36 σκηναῖς Bl Fu after Madvig, ipsae enim feminae erant  
 περιπεφραγμέναι : σκηναῖς vulgo. || 41 τινὰς S.

CH. XXVII § 1 l. 7 τὸν omitted by S F<sup>a</sup>. || 9 αὐτοῖς... συντε-  
 ταραγμένοις Blass after Cobet's conjecture συνταραττομένοις :  
 αὐτὸς... συντεταγμένος S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr : αὐτοῖς συντεταγμένοις Si :  
 αὐτοῖς συνταττομένοις v. || 14 πραγμάτων μεγάλων S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu :  
 μεγίστων πρ. v. || 15 τυγχάνοι S.

ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλὰ· καλὸν δὲ  
 πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα κοσμεῖν καὶ σφάζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν  
 οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητα  
 λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων 20  
 κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσ-  
 κυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σφάζοντος.  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις,  
 ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν·  
 εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, ἀγγέλοις ἐτέροις χρήσῃ 25  
 πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνήσαντος· ταῦθ' ὁ Θεμι-  
 στοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν 'Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε  
 τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν  
 αὐξήσω ἀφίγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε πείσομαι τοῖς 30  
 ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῶ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρ-  
 σας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν  
 βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν, ὥστε τοῦτο μηδὲν  
 ἐμποδῶν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς  
 3 ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν.' / Τίνα δ' εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος 35  
 'Ἑλλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτη  
 τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.' καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς 'Τοῦτ'  
 οὐκέτ' ἂν' ἔφη 'πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρό-  
 τερος βασιλέως.' Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν, ὁ  
 δ' Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστό- 40  
 ρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς Ἑρετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλιάρχος  
 εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν  
 γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

§ 2 l. 22 τοῦ πάντα S F<sup>a</sup>. || 28 ἐγὼ S F<sup>a</sup>. || 34 ἔσται S F<sup>a</sup>,  
 corrected into ἔστω by Si<sup>l</sup>.

§ 3 l. 36 ἀφίχθαι φῶμεν S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr. || 38 οὐκ ἂν S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr. ||  
 'Ἀρτάβανε omitted by S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr. || 41 αἰρετικῆς S: αἰρετικῆς F<sup>a</sup>.

XXVIII Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν εἰσέχθη πρὸς βασιλέα  
καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔστη σιωπῇ, προσ-  
τάξαντος τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως  
ἑρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστί, καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως  
ἑρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν

His favour-  
able recep-  
tion by the  
Persian  
King.

Quaker  
(C. 1. 1)

“Ἦκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος  
ἐγὼ φυγὰς ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ὧ πολλὰ μὲν  
ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δ’ ἀγαθὰ κωλύ-  
σαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
γεγενημένης παρέσχε τὰ οἰκεία σφζόμενα χαρί-  
σασθαί τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα  
πρέποντα ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστί, καὶ  
παρεσκευασμένος ἀφύγμαι δέξασθαί τε χάριν  
εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησι-  
κακούντος ὀργήν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμούς ἐχθρούς 2  
μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν  
ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν  
ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς.  
σφῆες μὲν γὰρ ἰκέτην σόν, ἀπολεῖς δ’ Ἑλλήνων  
πολέμιον γενόμενον.” Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστο- 126  
κλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν ὄψιν,  
ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ  
Δωδωναίου Διός, ὥς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν  
ὁμώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς  
ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους  
εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας. Ἀκούσας δ’ 3  
ὁ Πέρσης ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καίπερ

CH. XXVIII § 1 l. 1 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν Bl Fu after Benseler : ἐπειδὴ  
οὖν vulgo. || 5 εἰπὼν S F<sup>a</sup>. || 9 ἀσφαλεία S. || 10 γεγενημένης  
F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu : γενομένης vulgo. || τὰ οἰκεία S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu : τὰ οἴκοι v.



θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ·  
μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτὸν ὥς ἐπ’  
εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευξάμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς 30  
πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀρειμάν-  
ιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν,  
θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς  
τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων  
τῶν ὕπνων ἐκβοῆσαι τρίς Ἐχω Θεμιστοκλέα 35  
τὸν Ἀθηναῖον.

XXIX Ἄμα δ’ ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους  
εἰσήγεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν  
ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἐγγύς, ὥς  
ἐπύθοντο τοῦνομα παριόντος αὐτοῦ,  
χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. ἔτι 5  
δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ χιλιάρχος, ὡς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ  
Θεμιστοκλῆς προσίων, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῶντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν  
ἽΟφίς Ἑλλήν ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων  
δεῦρο ἤγαγεν.’ οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος 10  
αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος  
καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδη μὲν  
διακόσια τάλαντ’ ὀφείλειν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ· κομί-  
σαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ  
ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι. πολλῶ δὲ πλείω 15  
τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν  
ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἃ βούλοιο παρρη-

§ 31. 29 πρὸς φίλους F<sup>a</sup>. || 31 Ἀρειμάνιον S Fu Bl: Ἀριμάνιον v.  
|| 35 ἐκβοῆσαι S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: βοῆσαι v.

CH. XXIX § 1 l. 1 ἄμα vulgo: μᾶ S F<sup>a</sup>. || 2 οὐδὲν S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl:  
μηδέν vulgo. || 3 ἐγγύς, ὡς S F<sup>a</sup>: ὡς vulgo: εὐθὺς ὡς conj. Fu Bl.  
|| 4 παριόντος Blass Fu after Sintenis: παρόντος v.

σιαζόμενον. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν 2  
 λόγον ἰοικέται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις  
 20 στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινόμενον  
 μὲν ἐπιδεικνύναι τὰ εἶδη, συστελλόμενον  
 δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου  
 δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ', ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ  
 καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος  
 25 καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν  
 ἐνετύγγανε βασιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς  
 δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων  
 διειλέχθαι· πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ  
 τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν  
 30 ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς,  
 ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ 3  
 ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἰοικύϊαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνη-  
 γεσίῳ βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν,  
 35 ὥστε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ  
 γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν  
 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. Signal proof thereof.  
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης  
 αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελευσθεὶς ἡτήσατο τὴν  
 40 κίταριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαιρόμενος εἰσελά-  
 σαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν ἀνεψιὸς  
 ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας  
 ἀφάμενος Ἀὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέ-

§ 2 l. 21 ἐπιδεικνύναι S Fu Bl: ἐπιδεικνυσθαι v. || 29 ἐν is  
 omitted by S F<sup>a</sup>. || 30 χρόνῳ S F<sup>a</sup>: καιρῷ v. || 31 χρῆσθαι S F<sup>a</sup>  
 Fu Bl: χρῆσασθαι v.

§ 3 l. 32 οὐδέ S F<sup>a</sup> Fu Bl: οὐδέν v. || 38 ὁ is omitted by S. ||  
 40 ἐπαιρόμενος S: ἐπαράμενος v.

φαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύφει· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔση Ζεὺς, ἐὰν  
 4 λάβῃς κεραυνόν.' ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὸν Δημά- 45  
 ρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ  
 δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε. Λέγε-  
 ται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον  
 αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἀνεκρά- 50  
 θησαν, ὡσάκισ δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνων, ἐπαγ-  
 γέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν [*<πρὸς>*] ἕκαστον, ὡς  
 μείζων ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν  
 δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ  
 θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τρα- 55  
 πέξης αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας  
 εἰπεῖν 'Ὡ παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλό-  
 127 *The revenues of certain districts were assigned to him.* μεθα.' πόλεις δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ  
 πλεῖστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον  
 καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ 60  
 Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας  
 προστίθουσιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας,  
 Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ  
 ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX Καταβαίνουντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλλην-  
 128 *His narrow escape from danger during a journey to the coast.* ικὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης  
 ἀνὴρ Ἐπιξύης ὄνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς  
 ἄνω Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευ-  
 ακῶς ἑκπαλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτεν- 5

§ 3 l. 44 ἂν Blass vulgo: ἐάν S: καὶν Koraës.

§ 4 l. 52 πρὸς ἕκαστον Bl after Reiske: ἕκαστον Fuhr vulgo. ||  
 55 ποτε vulgo: τότε S F<sup>a</sup>. || 56 αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr:  
 παρατεθείσης Blass vulgo.

οὖντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ Λεοντοκεφάλῳ  
 γενόμενος καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι  
 μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ φανείσαν  
 εἶπεῖν ‘Ὡ Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λεόν-  
 10 των, μὴ λέοντι περιπέσης. ἐγὼ δ’ ἀντὶ τούτου  
 σὲ θεράπαιναν αἰτῶ Μνησιπτολέμαν.’ δια-  
 ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος  
 τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφῆκεν, ἑτέρα δὲ  
 περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον  
 15 ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατηυλίσατο. τῶν δὲ τὴν 2  
 σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑποζυγίων ἐνὸς εἰς τὸν ποτα-  
 μὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς  
 αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες  
 ἀνέψυχον· οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν  
 20 τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν  
 σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες φήθησαν εἶναι τὴν  
 σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κάκεινον ἔνδον εὐρή-  
 σειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὥς δ’ ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τὴν  
 αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ  
 25 παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυ-  
 γὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν  
 ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν τε κατεσκεύασεν ἐν  
 Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησι-  
 πτολέμαν ἰέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI ‘Ὡς δ’ ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν  
 ἄγων ἐθεῶτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν, καὶ τῶν

CH. XXX § 1 l. 6 κώμῃ S F<sup>a</sup>: πόλει v. || 10 μὴ S Bl Fu: ἵνα  
 μή v. || 11 transposui vulgatum αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν.

§ 2 l. 18 ἐκπέσαντες S F<sup>a</sup>: γρ. ἐκπετάσαντες S (first hand)  
 mg. || 27 ναὸν τε Bl Fu with S: ναὸν vulgo.

CH. XXXI § 1 l. 2 ἐθεάσατο Si<sup>1</sup>.

- ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλήθος εἶδε καὶ ἐν Μητρὸς  
 ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην  
 χαλκὴν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν—ἦν αὐτὸς ὅτε 5  
 τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν,  
 ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύ-  
 οντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος—εἶτε  
 δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθή-  
 ματος, εἶτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθη- 10  
 ναίοις, ὅσῃ ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς  
 βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίας σατράπῃ  
 προσήνεγκεν, αἰτούμενος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν κόρην  
 2 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ βαρ-  
 βάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολήν, 15  
 φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν  
 κατέφυγε, καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας  
 χρήμασιν ἐκείνόν τε κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ  
 πρὸς τᾶλλα παρείχευ ἐαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη  
 καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ 20  
 πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ  
 δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν  
 τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ  
 πάνυ τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλέως 25  
 προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.  
 3 Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βοη-  
 θούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλ-  
 ληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας  
 ἀναπλέουσai καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν 30

Themisto-  
cles at  
Sardis and  
Magnesia.

3 The Persian  
King pre-  
pares an  
armament  
against  
Athens.

ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς  
 "Ἑλλήσι καὶ κωλύειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο  
 καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέ-  
 35 βαινον ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα,  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντος  
 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι'  
 ὀργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε  
 ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν  
 40 πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν ἡγούμενος  
 τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος 4  
 ἐχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς 128  
 εὐήμεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον  
 αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ  
 45 τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος  
 ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν ἔθυσσε  
 τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιω-  
 σάμενος, ὥς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἶμα ταύρειον  
 πιῶν, ὥς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσ-  
 50 ενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε, πέντε  
 πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη καὶ τὰ  
 πλεῖστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις.  
 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθό-  
 μενον βασιλέα λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι  
 55 τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις  
 χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρωπῶς.

Themisto-  
cles, in order  
that he  
may not be  
constrained  
to serve  
against his  
country,  
puts an end  
to his life.

§ 3 l. 32 κολουειν Fuhr after Blass: all the MSS have κωλύειν.  
 || 34 κατέβαινον S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu: κατέβαινον εἰς Μαγνησίαν v. ||  
 40 οὐδ' ἐφικτόν S F<sup>a</sup> Bl Fu: οὐκ ἐφικτόν v. || 52 καὶ ἡγεμονίαις is  
 omitted in F<sup>a</sup>, but not in S.

XXXII Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ  
 μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ  
 Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύ-  
 ευκτον καὶ Κλεόφαντον· οὐ καὶ Πλάτων  
 ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς ἱππέως ἀρίστου, τᾶλλα δ' οὐδενὸς 5  
 ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων  
 Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς  
 ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν  
 ἐποίησατο. θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους ἔσχεν, ὧν  
 Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης 10  
 γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὦν  
 ὁμομήτριος ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης ὁ  
 Χίος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος·  
 Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμι-  
 στοκλέους, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας 15  
 εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,  
 νεωτάτην δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.  
 Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ  
 ἀγορᾷ Μάγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 λειψάνων οὐτ' Ἀνδοκίδῃ προσέχειν 20  
 ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους λέγοντι  
 φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρρῖψαι τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον  
 παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς), ἃ τε λέγων Φύλ-  
 αρχος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονοῦ 25  
 μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ

CH. XXXII § 1 l. 2 τῆς S F<sup>a</sup>. || 4 Κλεόφατον S F<sup>a</sup>. || 10 νασι-  
 πτολέμην F<sup>a</sup> (μνησιπτολέμην S). || 13 Νικόδημος S F<sup>a</sup> Fuhr.

§ 2 l. 18 ἐν omitted in S F<sup>a</sup>. || 24 ἃ τε λέγων Φύλαρχος . . .  
 πάθος, οὐδ' ἂν Blass conj. : ἃ τε Φύλαρχος <ὅς> Fuhr conj. :  
 ὁ (δ S F<sup>a</sup>) τε Φύλαρχος . . . πάθος, ὁ οὐδ' ἂν vulgo.

2 Magnificent  
 sepulchral  
 monument  
 erected in  
 honour of  
 him in the  
 agora of  
 Magnesia.  
 Disposal of  
 his remains.

Δημόπολιν, υἱεῖς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται  
 κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοήσειεν ὅτι  
 πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητῆς 3  
 30 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπο- Was his  
burial-place  
in Attica?  
 νοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν  
 μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκών,  
 καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ἥ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς  
 35 θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ ἐπ'  
 αὐτῇ βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἴεται  
 δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν  
 τούτοις

40 ὁ δὲ δὲ ΤΥΜΒΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΛῳ ΚΕΧΩΣΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΤΟΙΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΡΗΣΙΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΨ,  
 ΤΟΥΣ Τ' ΕΚΠΛΕΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΣΠΛΕΟΝΤΑΣ Τ' ὄψεται,  
 ΧΩΠΟΤΑΝ ΔΜΙΛΛ' ἢ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ, ΘΕΑΪΣΕΤΑΙ.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ <sup>κεν οὐκ</sup> τιμαῖς  
 τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ <sup>ἐν αὐτῇ</sup> φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι <sup>κεν οὐκ</sup> honours  
paid to his  
descendants.  
 45 τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ὥς ἐκαρ-  
 πούτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος  
 συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ  
 γενόμενος.

§ 3 l. 35 ἐπ' αὐτῇ Bl Fu after Koraës : περὶ αὐτὴν v. || 41 τοὺς  
 τε εἰσπλέοντας § F<sup>a</sup> : οὗς ἐκπλέοντας τ' Bekker conj. || 42 ἀμιλλ' ἢ  
 Cobet Meineke Fuhr after Porson : ἀμιλλαι § Reiske : ἀμιλλα  
 Blass v.





COMMENTARY ON  
PLUTARCH'S  
*LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES*

### ABBREVIATIONS

G. = W. W. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*. Macmillan, 1883.

G. *MT.* = W. W. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, rewritten and enlarged. Macmillan, 1889.

HA. = J. Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten by F. de F. Allen. Macmillan, 1884.

Ruth. = W. Gunion Rutherford's *First Greek Grammar Syntax*. Macmillan, 1890.

# NOTES ON PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

## CHAPTER I

Page of  
Text  
1

§ 11. 1. The *δέ* without corresponding *μέν* shews that the beginning is incomplete: there was probably a short introduction to the pair Themistocles-Camillus—such as we find in many of the other biographies, e.g. that of Agis—which has been lost. *τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους*, 'the circumstances of his birth.' The *μέν* brings forward the first point to be considered—his parentage: the next is introduced by *ἔτι δέ*, c. 2, 1. *ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε*, 'were, to begin with, too humble for distinction' i.e. to do him honour. Cp. *Phoc.* c. 1, 2 *τὴν Φωκίωνος ἀρετὴν . . . αἱ τύχαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμαυρὰν πρὸς δόξαν ἐποίησαν*, *Sertor.* c. 18, 2 *ἦνθι τότε μάλιστα πρὸς δόξαν*. For *ἀμαυρός*, cp. *Public.* c. 21, 6 *γένος οὐδενὸς ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίων*, *Hesiod Opp.* 282 *τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρῃ γενεῇ μετόπισθε λέλειπται*, *Eur. Andr.* 204 *αὐτὴ τ' ἀμαυρὰ κοῦ τύραννος ἦν Φρυγῶν*.

2. *πατρὸς ἦν*: predicate genitive of origin, *HA.* § 732 a.

3. *οὐ τῶν ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν* *sc. ὄντος*, 'not one of the great notables.' Cp. *Cic.* c. 44, 5 *ἦν δὲ πατρὸς Ὀκταουλοῦ τῶν οὐκ ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν*, *Plam.* c. 18, 1 *ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν οὐκ ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν τέσσαρας*, *Phoc.* c. 24, 1 *ἀνθρώπων τινα τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν*, *Herod.* VIII 125 *τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν ἄλλως δὲ οὐ (ἐὼν) τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν*. The phrase *ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής* = 'a conspicuous personage,' is a very favourite one with Plutarch, *Cam.* c. 15, 3, *Pomp.* c. 14, 5, *Brut.* c. 18, 5 etc.; cp. the French use of 'apparent' in the sense of 'con-

siderable, 'important.' So in Plutarch's *Comp. Arist. c. Cat. ma.* c. 1, 3 Them. is stated to be οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρὸς, although he was allied to the noble family of the Lycomidae, whereas on the other hand Nepos c. 2 says *pater eius Neocles generosus fuit.*

4. 'Αθήνησι: a locative case like Φλυῆσι (§ 3), 'Αλωπεκῇσι, 'Ολυμπίασι, Μουνυχίασι, Πλαταιάσιν, Θεσπιάσι. Such forms are proparoxytons when the nom. is baryton, and properispomenons when it is oxyton. Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων, 'of the deme Φρέαρροι,' so called after Phrearrhus, who was 'Αθήνησιν ἐπίσημος ἦρας. τῶν δήμων, 'one of the demes,' is the partitive genitive after ἐκ Φρεάρρων implied in Φρεαρρίου. Cp. *Per.* 3, 1 Περικλῆς ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν 'Ακαμαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς, *Cim.* c. 4, 2 Κίμων 'Αλιμουσίος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, *Plat. Euthyphr.* I 2 B ἔστι δὲ τῶν δήμων Πιθεύς, *Diog. Laert. Plat.* III 3 ἦν δὲ τῶν δήμων Κολλυτεύς, *Xen.* II 1 ἦν τῶν δήμων 'Αρχιεύς. So that Cobet's correction τὸν δήμον is quite unnecessary. Λεοντίδος, so named after Λεώς, another ἦρας ἐπώνυμος.

After the reforms of Cleisthenes the population of Attica was divided into ten local tribes (φυλαὶ τοπικαί), each called after some popular hero. Their names were Eretheis (Erectheus), Aegeis (Aegeus), Pandionis (Pandion), Leontis (Leos), Acamantis (Acamas), Oeneis (Oeneus), Cecropis (Cecrops), Hippothontis (Hippothon), Aiantis (Aias), Antiochis (Antiochus). A member of the phyle was called 'Ερεχθίδης, Αἰγιίδης, Λεοντίδης, Πανδιονίδης etc. These φυλαὶ were subdivided into 174 δήμοι, 'districts,' each possessing its principal town. The names of the different demes were taken either from the chief towns in them, as Marathon, Oenoe, Brauron, Eleusis, Rhamnus, Deccelea, Peiraeus etc., or from the names of their principal houses or clans, as Daedalidae, Butadae, Thumoetadae, Scambonidae etc. The largest of the demes was Acharnae, which belonged to the tribe Oeneis (c. 24 § 3). The ten tribes were blended with the whole machinery of the constitution; members of the βουλὴ were chosen, fifty from each, and the same principle of election ran through the chief offices of state. Each deme formed an independent corporation and had its own peculiar worship, its several magistrates, landed and other property, and held periodical meetings (ἀγοραί) for the transaction of public business, the election of officers and the revision of its register of enrolment (ἀγχιλαρικὸν γραμματεῖον). Admission into a deme was necessary before any one could enter upon his full rights and privileges as a citizen.

5. νόθος πρὸς μητρός, 'a half-blood on his mother's side' )( γνήσιος, 'of whole blood.'

'Athenian citizenship depended essentially on being born in lawful wedlock of parents who were themselves both citizens. The children of a citizen and a foreign woman were, in the eye of the law, illegitimate (νόθοι). Solon deprived them of all the *iura agnationis* (ἀγχιλαρεία, *Arist. Av.* 1660), and, on the decease of the father, the utmost claim they had on his property was a portion (νόθεα) of 1000 drachmae; there is not however any evidence that they were, in that legislator's time, excluded from the other rights of citizens. Their participation in the exercises of the Gymnasia (to which no author asserts that foreigners were admissible) with the rest of the Athenian youth, for which purpose, moreover, the Cynosarges was set

apart for them, is testimony for the very reverse. Pericles, as far as we know, first exacted citizenship on the mother's side also (Plutarch *Per.* c. 37, 2, Aelian *Var. Hist.* vi 10); but his law, if not actually repealed, must have become obsolete in the course of the Peloponnesian war; for, when Aristophon revived it in the archonship of Euclides, he expressly exempted from its operation all born up to that time of women who were not citizens; so that it was only from that time that the citizenship of both parents became legally essential (Athenae. XIII p. 577 B, Dem. *adv. Eubul.* § 30, Isaeus *de Ciron. her.* c. 43). C. F. Hermann *Pol. Antiq. of Greece* § 118.

**ὡς λέγουσιν**: according to the following inscription, which we must suppose to have been written under her statue or bust. Athenaeus XIII p. 576 C quotes the two lines as from Amphicrates (*ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξεων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματι*), probably the Athenian orator who lived in the time of Lucullus (Plut. *Luc.* c. 22, 3). Schneidewin thinks that Simonides was the author of the inscription.

6. **Ἀβρότονον** *sc. εἰμὶ*. For the neuter form of the name, cp. Γλυκερίον, Δέλφιον, Λοπάδιον, Νάννιον, Φιλημάτιον, Χλιδανόν, Σοφόν, and other similar names of female slaves and *ἐταῖραι*.

**Θρήσσα**, a dialectic form of **Θρᾷσσα** (Θρᾷττα), fem. of Θρᾷξ, 'a Thracian.' **γένος**, accus. of specification, as *ὄνομα* l. 9. **τεκέσθαι**, a poetical middle for act. *τεκεῖν*.

§ 2 l. 8. **Φανίας**: see *Introduction*.

2

9. **Καρίνην**, a native of Caria.

10. **Εὐτέρπην**: so Athenaeus XIII p. 576 D:—*Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριῶν Εὐτέρπησιν αὐτὸν εἶναι φησιν υἱόν*.

**ἀναγράφει**, *scribendo refert, tradit*, 'puts on record.'

The verb is frequently found in Plutarch in the sense of 'recording,' either with the objective acc. as *Rom.* c. 20, 3 *Βούτας τις αἰτίας μυθώδεις ἐν ἐλεγείῳ περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναγράφων*, *Sol.* c. 5, 1, c. 32, 2, *Pelop.* c. 2, 6 *παράλληλους ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτῶν τοὺς βίους*, *Flam.* c. 16, 3, *Lys.* c. 25, 4, or with the predicate acc. as *Arist.* c. 1, 4 *δν... συχνοὶ χώρων διδάσκαλον ἀναγράφουσι*, *Alex.* c. 20, 3 *ἢ τῆς ἀποδημίας ταύτης αἰτίαν ἀναγράφει*, or with the acc. and infin. as *Flam.* c. 14, 2. It is more generally used of 'inscribing' or 'registering' on a *στήλη*, or tablet set up in some public place, public acts or treaties, decrees, judgments.

**Neantes**, the rhetorician of Cyzicum (quoted again c. 29, 4), lived about B.C. 241, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; he was a pupil of Philiscus of Miletus, who was himself a pupil of Isocrates. The writers who refer to him, Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, and several of the early Christian writers, seem to rely upon his judgment and accuracy. He wrote 'Memoirs of king Attalus,' 'Hellenica,' 'Lives of illustrious men,' 'Pythagorica,' 'Annals.'

**καὶ πόλιν**, 'a (fixed) city also.' Cp. Nepos *Them.* 1 2 is (*Neocles*) *uxorem Halicarnassiam duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles*, according to the correction of the MSS reading *Acar-nan-am* made by Aldus.

11. *προστέλλειν τι* *τι, praeterea quid de quo dicere* (Wytenbach).

12. *διό, 'for which reason,' i.e. because he was a νόθος πρὸς μητρός.* *Κυνόσαργες* was one of the three most famous Gymnasias outside the walls of Athens, situated a little to the NE. of the Lyceum, on the road to Alopecce; the others were the *Ἀκαδημία* (about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a mile on the road to Colonus) and the *Λύκειον* (on the right bank of the Ilissus, east of the city, near Diochares' gate), which was used as a parade-ground (Arist. *Pac.* 355) and was the scene of some of the dialogues of Socrates. In the *Κυνόσαργες* there was a temple of Heracles, who was only a half-god, and so the natural patron of the νόθοι (Aristoph. *Av.* 1650). The name *Cynosarges* (κύων, ἀργός) is said to have been derived from a 'white dog,' which snatched a part of a victim which Didymus was sacrificing to Heracles, whereupon he was told by an oracle to build a temple to the god in the exact spot οὗ τὸ λερεῖον ἀπέθετο ὁ κύων. For *συντελούντων εἰς*, 'subscribing to,' hence 'belonging to,' 'being members of,' cp. *Mor.* p. 750 *τὸ θῆλυν καὶ νόθον ὥσπερ εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντα τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν*, Thuc. II 15, 2 *ἀπάντων ἥδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν (τὴν πόλιν)*, Dem. c. *Aristocr.* § 213 *εἰς τοὺς νόθους ἐκεῖ συντελεῖ, καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐνθάδε εἰς Κυνόσαργες οἱ νόθοι*.

13. Translate:—'this is a gymnasium' (not 'this gymnasium is,' as if *τοῦτο τὸ γυμνάσιον*). *ἔξω* is for *ἐκτός*. Cp. Arist. *Av.* 497 *ἔξω τείχους*, Thuc. IV 92, 5 *ἔξω ὄρων*, VII 58, 3 *οἱ ἔξω Σικελίας*, VIII 67, 2 *ἔξω πόλεως*, Dem. *de cor.* § 304 *ὅτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτε τῶν εἰσω*, all which, observe, are common local expressions, and therefore without article. See HA. § 661, Ruth. *Greek Synt.* § 11.

14. *κάκεινος* (crasis for *καὶ ἐκεῖνος*), sc. Heracles.

15. *ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ*, 'was under the imputation of being a half-blood.' Cp. *Mor.* p. 662 *β τῇ Σωκράτους ἐνέχεσθαι κατάρα*, p. 925 *τ ἐνέχεσθαι ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀποραῖς*, Dem. p. 1231, 15 *τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέξεται*, Plat. *Crit.* p. 52 *Α ταῖς ταῖς αἰτίας ἐνέξεσθαι*. For the allusion, cp. Ar. *Av.* 1650, where Peithetaerus says to Heracles νόθος γὰρ εἰ κοῦ γνήσιος, and when Heracles replies ἐγὼ νόθος; τί λέγεις; adds σὺ μέντοι νῆ Δία | ὦν γ' ἐκ ξένης γυναικός. *μητέρα* sc. Alcmena.

17. *εὖ γεγονότων*, 'well born.' Arist. c. 27, 4 *συνοικίσαντες (αὐτῇ) ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων. καταβαλόντας*, because it was in a suburb.

18. *ἀλείφειν*, 'to anoint themselves' as a preliminary to gymnastic exercises, hence 'to train,' 'practise.' So *ἀλείπτῃς*

is used for a 'trainer and teacher of gymnastics,' and sometimes for 'a teacher' generally, as *Per.* c. 4, 2 τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνὴν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτῃς καὶ διδάσκαλος. *Cr.* *Aesch. c. Tim.* § 138 'δοῦλον' φησὶν ὁ νόμος 'μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ξηραλοὶ φεῖν ἐν ταῖς παλαίστρας.' καὶ οὐκέτι προσέγραψε 'τὸν δ' ἐλευθέρων ἀλείφεσθαι καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι.' See on c. 3, 4.

§ 31. 19. δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν . . . διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν, 'he is popularly thought to have done away with, by an ingenious device, the line of demarcation between.'

20. μέντοι, 'for all that,' in spite of his νοθεῖα.

21. Λυκομίδων, an old priestly family, who had to chant hymns at the Eleusinian mysteries. See O. Müller *Minerv. Poësiad.* p. 11. δῆλός ἐστι, the personal for the impersonal construction (δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι, which Fuhr reads with S). *Cr.* *Xen. Cyr.* i iv 2 δῆλος ἦν πᾶσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβείτο, *Anab.* v ii 26 δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικέλονται, and see *HA.* § 944 a.

22. Φλυῆσι (§ 1), at Phlya, a deme of the Κεκροπὶς φύλη, c. 15, 2. τελεστήριον, the chapel used for initiating (τελεῖν) novices at the mysteries, *Per.* c. 13, 3.

23. ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, in the Persian invasion of B.C. 490. αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε κτλ., 'restored at his own expense and embellished with paintings.'

24. Σιμωνίδης: c. 15, 2. ἱστορήκεν, 'has recorded,' probably in an inscription set up in the chapel itself (Schneidewin *Simonid. Epigr.* cxcvii and p. xviii). The verb ἱστορεῖν, which in classic Greek means 'to enquire,' 'to learn by enquiry,' is commonly used by Plutarch in this sense of *memoriae prodere*, 'to put on record.' *Cr.* c. 7, 3; c. 19, 1; c. 24, 3; c. 25, 1; c. 27, 1.

## CHAPTER II

§ 11. 1. ἔτι δέ: see n. to c. 1 § 11. 1. ὁμολογᾶται . . . εἶναι, personal for impersonal construction, *HA.* § 944. φορὰς μεστώς, 'full of impetuosity,' 'restless ardour.'

The word φορὰ (φέρειν) is used of persons only in late Greek in the sense of vehement mental or bodily impulse. *Cr.* *Fad. Maz.* c. 5, 4 στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένον, *Cor.* c. 32, 6 πράξει ταῖς παραβάλοις καὶ φορᾶς τινὲς ἐνθουσιώδους δεομένας, *Plat.* c. 11, 1 τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πλήθους ἐξέκλινεν, c. 20, 1, *Anton.* c. 2 τῇ Κλωδίου φορᾷ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ταραττούση, *Appian bell. civ.* 5, 16 μανιώδει φορᾷ, *Maxim. Tyr.* 11, 6 ὀργὴ καὶ φορὰ καὶ ἀλογοὶ ἔξεις, [*Lucian*] *Am.* c. 37 ἀκρίτεφ φορᾷ πρὸς τὸ βουλομένον ἄγων. See my n. to *Sull.* c. 27, 6.



2. εἶναι is the infinitive of the imperfect, as in c. 3, 3. τῇ φύσει συνενός: For this distinctive characteristic of Themistocles, cp. Thucydides i c. 74, 1, who speaks of him as ἀνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνηγώτατον, c. 138, 1 βασιλεὺς δὲ ('Ἀρταξέρξης), ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασε τε αὐτοῦ (sc. Θεμιστοκλέους) τὴν διάνοιαν . . . γίγνεται δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας . . . μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδούς ξυνηγῶς φαίνεσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θ. βεβαύτατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὸν δηλώσας . . . οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει . . . τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο. So Plut. *Cim.* c. 5, 1 οὔτε τόλμῃ Μιλτιάδου λειπόμενος οὔτε συνέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, *Mor.* p. 343 A σωφροσύνην τὴν Ἀγχιλλέου, σύνεσιν δὲ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους, [Lucian] *Dem. epict.* c. 37 Δημοσθένης ἐφάμυλλος Θεμιστοκλεῖ μὲν τὴν σύνεσιν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα. τῇ προαίρεσει, 'in his preference,' 'bent,' 'inclination,' dat. of respect, HA. § 780.

3. πολιτικός, 'fitted for public life,' 'a statesman.'

4. ἐν ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς, 'in his intervals of relaxation and leisure.' ἀνεσις (ἀνέναι) is properly said of unscrewing and so relaxing the strings of the lyre, Plat. *Rep.* p. 349 E. Cp. Polyb. i 66, 10 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τετενυγότες ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς, Plat. *legg.* p. 724 A σπουδῆς τε περὶ καὶ ἀνέσεως. Instances of plural abstract nouns in concrete sense are given in my n. to Xen. *Oecon.* c. 1, 21. ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γιγνόμενος, 'as often as he left off his lessons.' Blass joins σχολαῖς with ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, and might quote in justification *Num.* c. 14, 2 σχολὴν ἀγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, or Plat. *Phaed.* p. 66 D ἐάν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ sc. τῆς φιλοσοφίας, but, on the other hand, see below c. 19, 1 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων, *Cat. ma.* c. 1, 7 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων, *Antion.* c. 57, 1 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τούτων, Polyb. i 24, 13; v 77, 7, Diod. xi 26, 7.

5. οὐκ ἐπαίξεν οὐδ' ἐρραθύνει κτλ., 'he did not indulge in play or amusement, but he would be found rehearsing or composing some speeches to himself.' For συντάττεσθαι, cp. Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 264 E πρὸς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος πάντα τὸν ὑστερον λόγον διεπεράνατο, Polyb. i 3, 8 συντάξασθαι ταύτην τὴν βύβλον, *III* 1, 2 συνταξάμεθα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλους. Hence σύνταξις (*Dem.* c. 2, 2) or σύνταγμα, 'a composition.'

7. πρὸς ἑαυτόν: cp. *Dem.* c. 8, 2, Arist. *Ran.* 53 τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἀναγινώσκοντι πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν, *Ecc.* 880 μινυρομένη τι πρὸς ἑμαυτὴν μέλος, 931, 1060, Plat. *Tim.* p. 26 A πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν πάντα ἀναλαμβάντα λέγειν οὕτως, *Hipp. ma.* p. 288 A πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἀναλάβω ὃ λέγεις.

8. κατηγορία . . . παίδων, 'an accusing or excusing of one of his school-fellows.'

§ 2 l. 9. ὅθεν, 'from which circumstance,' 'for which reason,' as below l. 16.

10. ὥς is of much rarer occurrence than δι before a direct quotation, G. MT. § 711, E. H. Spieker in *American Journal of Philol.* v p. 221-7.

11. πάντως, omnino, 'in any case,' 'to a certainty,' *Dem.* c. 3 27, 3. ἐπεὶ καὶ κτλ., a further proof in confirmation of the previous statement. παιδεύσεων i.q. παιδευμάτων, 'his subjects (not, as ordinarily, 'processes,' 'methods') of instruction.' The three branches of education were γράμματα, μουσική, γυμναστική, *Plat. Clit.* p. 255 c, *Xen. rep. Lac.* c. 2, 1, *Arist. Pol.* VIII (v) c. 3, p. 1337<sup>b</sup>, 24.

12. τὰς ἡθοποιούς κτλ., 'such as are designed to form the character or are pursued with a view to some refined pleasure and gratification worthy of a free man' (and not with a view to making money by them). Cp. *Dion* c. 9, 1 γεῖναι (αὐτὸν) καὶ μαθημάτων ἡθοποιῶν, ὥς τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρειν ἐθίσθην.

14. τῶν . . . λεγομένων, neuter.

15. δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν κτλ., 'he did not disguise his contempt for anything that was said referring to (the improvement of) the understanding or practical life (as being too easy a lesson for him), since he trusted to his natural ability.' For παρ' ἡλικίαν, 'beyond (i.e. more than was natural at) his age,' cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 1, 2 ὁσχὺν εἶχον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν τελεσιουργῶν αἱ ὀρμαί, *Rom.* c. 25, 5 ἀφρόνως καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπέλως τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι (de sene), *Fab.* c. 12, 4 εὐρώτως παρ' ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠθούμενον, *C. Gracch.* c. 14, 3, [Menand.] *monost.* 690 (Mein. *F.C.G.* iv 360) ὁ παρ' ἡλικίαν νοῦς μῖσος ἐξεργάζεται.

16. ὥς . . . πιστεύων, G. MT. § 864.

§ 3 l. 16. ὅθεν (l. 9), 'in consequence of which,' referring to the former clause of the preceding sentence, i.e. because he did not learn μουσική etc. in the usual way.

17. ἑλευθέρους, liberalibus, libero homine dignis. Cp. *Rom.* c. 6, 3 ἐχρῶντο δὲ διατρίβαις ἐλευθερίους, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπονίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους, *Mor.* 706 B ταύταις ταῖς ἐλευθερίαις λεγομένας περὶ ὧτα καὶ ὄμματα φιλομούσοις καὶ φιλαύλοις μουσομανίαις, *Dion* c. 9, 1 ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς διατριβὰς ἐλευθερίους ἐφιλοτιμῆτο. ἀστέλαις, urbanis, 'polite.'

**διατριβαίς**, 'social gatherings,' or, perhaps, 'amusements.'

**Διατριβή** is properly 'a wearing away,' esp. of time; hence 'occupation,' 'pastime,' or 'serious pursuit.' See below c. 29 § 3, and cp. *Nym.* c. 4, 1 ἐκλείπων τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβάς, c. 5, 2 διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμονας, *Per.* c. 16, 2 ὡς (ὁ πατὴρ) πλοῦτος μὴτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μὴτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβάς ἀσχολουμένην παρέχοι, *Aesch.* c. *Timarch.* § 12 οὐκ ἀφανείς διατριβάς διατρίβω ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεθ' ὑμῶν ὁρῶμαι, § 53 οὐκ ἐνούσθησεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδὰ βελτιόνων διατριβῶν ἦψατο, *Polyb.* x 19, 5 ἥδιστα τοῖς νέοις ἀπολαύσεις καὶ διατριβάς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρέχει. It occasionally implies 'conversation,' especially philosophical, as the best method of employing time, e.g. *Nym.* c. 8, 8 κοινὰ μετὰ Μουσῶν διατριβαί, *Plat. Euthyphr.* p. 2 A τὰς ἐν Δυκεῖ κατὰ τῶν διατριβάς, *Apol.* p. 87 C οὐχ οἱοί τε ἐγένεσθε ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς ἐμὰς διατριβάς καὶ τοὺς λόγους. From this meaning to that of 'places of diversion' or 'of conversation' the transition is easy (cp. our word 'parlour'), as *Alc.* c. 24, 5 (παράδεισον) διατριβάς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφυγὰς ἡσκημένας περιττῶς, *Mor.* p. 61 A καταλιπούσα διατριβάς εὐδαίμονας, *Aesch.* c. *Tim.* § 132 ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ διατριβαῖς γυμνάσιον, *Strabo Geogr.* vi c. 2, 11 ἐκεῖ εἰδείκνυντο οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν οἶκοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί.

18. **ὕπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευθῶν δοκούντων**: there is, perhaps, some irony conveyed by *λεγομέναις*, as also by *δοκούντων*, which may mean either 'considered themselves' or 'were reputed to be,' 'passed as.' Cp. *Dion.* c. 18, 1 πολλοὺς συνήγε τῶν πεπαιδευθῶν δοκούντων.

19. **φορτικώτερον**, 'somewhat arrogantly' )( *ἐλευθερίως*. *φορτικός* is properly 'burdensome' (*φέρω*, *φόρος*), hence met. (of persons or things) 'tiresome,' 'offensive,' 'odious,' from vulgar manners or bad taste, especially arrogance. Cp. *Sol.* c. 3, 1 τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν. **ἀμύνεσθαι**, 'to retort.'

20. **λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι**, 'to tune a lyre or play on (lit. 'handle') a harp.' *ψαλτήριον*, 'a stringed instrument,' here used for *κιθάρα*. The story recurs in *Cim.* c. 9, 1, where Ion of Chios, after having sung a song in which he complimented Cimon's guests, is praised by them as being *δεξιώτερος* *Θεμιστοκλέους*: ἐκείνον γὰρ ᾄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι.

21. **ἐπίσταται**, optative in indirect discourse: *Sintenis* has *ἐπίσταται*. **μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον**, predicate adjectives to *παραλαβών*. Observe the chiasmic opp. of the following adjectives *ἐνδοξον* καὶ *μεγάλην*.

22. **ἀπεργάσασθαι**, *reddere*, *efficere*; so *Xen. Oec.* c. 14, 6 *πειρῶμαι δικαίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας*, *Plat. Rep.* p. 381 E *ἵνα μὴ . . . τοὺς παῖδας ἀπεργάζωνται δειλοτέρους*.

23. **Στησίμβροτος**: *Stesimbrotus* of Thasos was one of the Ionic prose writers and a sophist contemporary with Ion. He is frequently quoted as an authority for gossiping anecdotes by *Plutarch*, who ranks him with the comic poets in his savage

attacks on Pericles. A work of his on the mysteries (τελετῶν) is quoted in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. He also wrote about Homer. See note on c. 4, 4. **Ἀναξαγόρου**: Anaxagoras was born at Clazomenae in Ionia B.C. 500, and came to Athens B.C. 456, where he lived till about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. He was called ὁ Νοῦς (*Per.* c. 4, 4) because of his chief doctrine, νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἰτίας. He exercised great influence over Pericles (c. 28) and other thoughtful men of his day, and Socrates once believed in him, though in Plato's *Phaed.* 97 c and *legg.* p 967 B he turns his theory concerning the phenomena of nature into ridicule. Being charged by the faction inimical to Pericles with atheism he left Athens B.C. 431, and died three years afterwards at Lamp-sacus. On his celebrated ὁμοιομέρειαι, see Lucretius i 834 ff., Müller-Donaldson, *Hist. Grk. Lit.* i p. 326 ff., Mahaffy, *Hist. Grk. Lit.* vol. II pt. i, pp. 46, 48, 55, ed. 3, 1890.

24. **διακούσαι**, 'was a hearer or disciple of,' cp. c. 29, 3, *Cic.* c. 4, 1 ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου διήκουσε, *Per.* c. 4, 3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου, *Mor.* p. 791 A τότε Καρνεάδου διήκουον, *Strab. Geogr.* XIV c. 1, 36 διήκουσαν δὲ τούτου (Anaxagoras) Ἀρχέλαος ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ Εὐρύπιδης ὁ ποιητής. **περὶ Μελίσσου σπουδάζειν**, 'that he attended the lectures of Melissus.' Melissus, a native of Samos, was distinguished as being the general who resolutely defended his city against the Athenians in the war of B.C. 440, *Per.* c. 26, 1 πλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ (sc. Περικλέους) Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος, στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, . . . ἐπεισε τοὺς πολῖτας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Σάμοι . . . ἐχρῶντο τῇ θαλάσῃ. . . . Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντα πρότερον. Thucydides has not a word about him. Melissus, like Zeno, his fellow Eleatic, transferred the poetic philosophy of his great pantheist predecessor Parmenides into Ionic prose. Hesychius Milesius (*F.H.G.* IV 170, 43) says of him *περὶ θεῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γινώσκων αὐτῶν*.

25. **τὸν φυσικόν**, 'the physicist,' a name given to the first (Ionic, Eleatic and Italian) philosophers, who were wholly occupied in speculating on the origin and existence of things apart from phenomena. See L.-S. *Lex. s.v.* οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος, 'wrong as to dates,' 'being guilty of an anachronism,' lit. 'not handling the chronology correctly.' Cp. *Thuc.* I 97, 2 τούτων ὅσπερ καὶ ἤφατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐνυγγραφῇ, Ἑλλάνικος βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη, V 26, 3 λογίζομενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους. So *tempora*, *Cic. Acad.* I 9, where see Dr. Reid's note. Plutarch's doubt about the

statement of Stesimbrotus appears groundless. Themistocles may have met Anaxagoras in Asia.

27. **νεώτερος** : The first appearance of Pericles in public life was B.C. 469.

29. **συνδιέτριβε**, 'was his intimate companion.' Plat. *Symp.* p. 172 c, Xen. *Mem.* i ii 3, Aesch. c. *Tim.* § 149 *περὶ τῶν διατριβῶν ὡς συνδιέτριβον ἀλλήλοις*. Cp. *Per.* c. 4, 4 ὁ δὲ πλεῖστα Περικλεῖ συγγενόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα περιθῆεις ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὅπως τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρας τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἥθους Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζομένιος, *ib.* cc. 5, 6, 16.

§ 4. 1. 29. **μᾶλλον ἢν τις προσέχοι**, 'one would rather give heed to,' potential opt., H.A. § 782, G. *MT.* § 235 f. On *προσέχειν* used absolutely, see my note to *Dem.* c. 20, 4. *τοῖς . . . λέγουσιν* : the order is *τοῖς λέγουσιν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα γενέσθαι ζηλωτὴν Μνησιφίλου τοῦ Φρεαρρίου*.

31. **ζηλωτὴν**, in good sense, 'an admirer,' 'imitator,' here almost = *μαθητὴν*. Cp. *Mor.* 6 D Δημοσθένης ζηλωτὴς τῆς τούτου (Περικλέους) πολιτείας γενόμενος, 154 c Μνησιφίλος, ἐταῖρος ὧν καὶ ζηλωτὴς Σόλωνος, 741 D Δημοσθένους ἐπαινέταις καὶ ζηλωταῖς, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i p. 302 Σόλωνος δὲ ζηλωτὴς ἀναγράφεται Μνησιφίλος ὃ Θεμιστοκλῆς συνδιέτριψεν, Dio Chrys. *orat.* lv p. 559 B ὁ ζηλῶν τινα ὀρθῶς ἐπίσταται δῆπου ἐκείνον ὁποῖος ἦν καὶ μιμούμενος τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς αὐὸν τε ἐπιχειρεῖ ὁμοῖον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν. ταῦτ' ὁ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ποιεῖν εἰσικε. So in Lat. *aemulus*; Cic. *or. p. Marc.* § 2, *or. p. Mur.* § 61 *Zeno, cuius inventorum aemuli Stoici nominantur*, Liv. i c. 18.

32. **τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων** (τῶν *φιλ.* of φυσικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν), such as Melissus and Anaxagoras, who were the first philosophers properly so called, because their researches were directed to τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὄντων.

33. **σοφίαν**, i.e. moral and political science, beyond which that of Solon and the other seven wise men except Thales did not extend; their wisdom had nothing speculative about it, it was purely moral and practical. Cp. *Sol.* c. 3, 5 ὅπως εἰσικε ἢ ὅλῳ μόνον σοφία τότε περαιτέρω τῆς χρειᾶς ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπῆρξε. The later wise men, or, as they called themselves after the time of Protagoras, Sophists, substituted for it either rhetoric and the art of persuasion in courts of justice (Gorgias B.C. 480-375) or dialectic (Protagoras, fl. B.C. 444). **οὐσαν**, 'which really was' (καλουμένην; the contrast would have been heightened if there had been a μέν after καλουμένην. **δεινότητα**, 'insight,' 'shrewdness,' *Per.* c. 4, 2.

34. **δραστήριον σίνεσιν**, 'practical sagacity'; **ἐπιτήδευμα** is the predicate accusative after **πεποιημένου**.

35. **αἵρεσιν**, 'sect,' 'school of philosophy'; **ἐκ διαδοχῆς**, 'in unbroken succession,' as in the schools of philosophy.

36. **ἀπό**, 'from the time of.' **ἦν** sc. **σοφίαν**. **μετὰ ταῦτα**, 'afterwards.'

38. **τὴν ἀσκήσιν** sc. **αὐτῆς**.

4

§ 5 l. 39. **μὲν οὖν**, 'so then': the **οὖν** is resumptive, after the digression about Mnesiphilus; the **μὲν** answers to the **δέ** of the following clause. Cp. c. 7, 4.

40. **ἤδη πολιτευόμενος**, 'when he was just embarking in politics.' **Πολιτεύειν** means 'to be a πολίτης,' **πολιτεύεσθαι** 'to take an active part in the government' (**ιδιωτεύειν**). **ἐπλησίαζεν**, 'was his disciple.' *Dem.* c. 2, 2 **τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιάζοντων**, *Dion.* c. 1, 1 **αὐτῷ Πλάτων πλησιάσας**, *Mor.* 145 B **ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πλησιάζων τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι**, *Xen. Mem.* IV iv 25 **τοιαῦτα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων δικαιότερους ἐποίει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας**, *Lucian Hermot.* c. 80 **ἤκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τινὸς λέγοντος ἀνδρός, ὡς ἀμύπολλοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πλησιάζουσιν**.

41. **ὄρμαϊς**, 'impulses,' 'sallies.'

42. **ἀστάθμητος**, 'irregular,' 'unstable,' as **ἀστάθμητοι ἀστέρες** = 'comets,' *Xen. Mem.* IV vii 5. Hence fig. 'not to be reckoned on,' 'of no settled purpose or balance.' Cp. *Ar. Av.* 169 **ἀνθρωπος ὄρνις ἀστάθμητος πετόμενος**, *Dem. de f. l.* § 149 **ὁ δῆμος ἐστὶν ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν πάντων. ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος**, 'inasmuch as he followed his natural inclination only,' lit. 'by itself.' **ἅτε** with participle marks the objective, as **ὥς** marks the subjective, reason.

43. **ἀνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας** = **ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπαιδεύτως**, 'without rational motive or control.' **ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω**, 'for both' i.e. 'for good or for evil.' *Cp. Nic.* c. 9, 1 **ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω πολλὴ ρυεῖσα**.

45. **ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον**, 'degenerating.' *Cp. Mor.* 649 D **ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυτευόμενος (κισσὸς) ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀπηγόρευεν**, *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* II 2, 6 **ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐξίστασθαι (φασὶν δάφνην μεταφυτευομένην) καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα διασφύζειν, de causis plant. VI 7 § 5 **οἶνος ἐξιστάμενος** and [*Dem.*] *Lacrit.* § 32 **ἐξεστηκότος οἶνου**, 'wine that has turned vapid.'**

46. **καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους κτλ.**, 'even the wildest colts make the best horses.'

47. **τῆς προσήκει . . . καταρτίσεως** for **τῆς καταρτίσεως**

(‘training,’ ‘management’) ἣς προσήκει αὐτοὺς τυχεῖν. καταρτύνειν is the technical term for ‘breaking a horse in’; *Mor.* 38 c τὰς ἐφ’ ἡδονὴν ὁρμάς . . . ἂν ἐὰν τις ἀφέτους, ἢ πεφύκασι, χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ λόγοις χρηστοῖς ἀφαιρῶν ἢ παρατρέπων, καταρτὺν τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν θηρίων οὐκ ἂν ἡμερώτερον ἀνθρώπου φανείη, *Soph. Ant.* 477 συμκρῶ χαλινῶ δ’ οἶδα τοὺς θυμονμένους | ἵππους καταρτυθέντας. Observe the transition in προσήκει τύχωσι—γένωνται to the direct discourse.

The scandal-monger Idomeneus ap. Athenaeum xii 533 D tells a story of the licentiousness of Themistocles: cp. also *Athen.* xiii p. 576 and *Mor.* 184 f.

§ 6 l. 48. δ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι, ‘as for the stories of their own invention which some fasten upon, connect with these.’

49. πλάττοντες, ‘fabricating,’ anticipates the judgment pronounced in the next clause.

50. ἀποκήρυξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ‘the solemn renunciation of him by his father, pronounced by the voice of the herald.’ Cp. *Alcib.* 3, 1 βουλευόμενου δ’ αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρονος, Περικλῆς οὐκ εἰσεν, Thomas Magister p. 95 ἀποκήρυκτος: ὁ ἐπὶ ἀδικήματι ἐκβληθεὶς τῆς οἰκίας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ ψήφου δικαστικῆς, *Dem.* p. 1006, 21 ο νόμος . . . τοὺς γονεῖς ποιεῖ κυρίως οὐ μόνον θέσθαι τοῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐξαλεῖψαι βούλονται καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι, *Plato legg.* xi p. 928 D οἱ πατέρες ἡγοῦντ’ ἂν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετεῖν, ἐξεῖναι σφισιν, ἐὰν βούλονται, τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίον ἀπάντων ἀπειπεῖν υἱὸν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτ’ εἶναι ‘to disclaim a son, so that he should no longer be legally such,’ p. 929 C ταύτη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκηρύττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδαμῶς. Lucian in his Ἀποκηρυττόμενος tells us that substantial reasons were required to insure the ratification of such extraordinary severity. The process was not unknown to the Romans, as is shown by Spalding on Quintil. *Inst.* iii 6, 96, where a law is quoted: *abdicatus ne quid de bonis patriis capiat*. As to the story itself, Plutarch’s doubts are justified, notwithstanding the agreement of later writers, as Nepos c. 1, 2 *quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebat, a patre exheredatus est*, the renunciation of course implying disinheritance, Val. Max. vi 9 ext. 2 *piget Themistoclis adolescentiam attingere, sive patrem aspiciam abdicationis iniungentem notam, sive matrem suspensio finire vitam propter filii turpitudinem coactam*.

For the genitive of the agent with ὑπὸ after the verbal substantive, cp. *Mor.* 20 E τῶν θεῶν βίψει ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ τρώσει ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, *Xen. Hier.* c. 8, 4 αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι,

*Cyr.* III iii 2 τῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ, *Plato Rep.* p. 378 A τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου παθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ νιέος = ἄ ξπασχε ὑπὸ τοῦ νιέος, p. 390 C Ἀρεῖς τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμόν.

52. **δοκεῖ καταψεύσθαι**, 'are generally thought to have been downright falsehoods,' c. 3, 2. *Antiph.* p. 131, 35 χαλεπὸν τὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ κατεψευσμένα... παραχρῆμα ἀπελέγχειν.

53. **τοῦναντίον**, *contra*. Plutarch appeals to another anecdote, which presupposes a friendly relation between father and son at this period also. **τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν**, 'to take part in public business,' a favourite phrase with Plutarch, *Dem.* c. 6, 1; c. 12, 1; *Cic.* c. 4, 2; varied in *Sol.* c. 14, 1 where we have τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν, and c. 5, 2 τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα.

54. **ἀποτρέπων αὐτόν**, 'by way of discouraging, deterring him.' The imperfect participle is used more often than the present in a conative sense. **ἐπεδείκνυε**, 'used to point to them' as examples. The deme Phrearri lay near the sea.

55. **ἐρριμμένος**, pred. part. 'abandoned,' 'derelict,' lit. 'flung aside.' Cp. *Agis* c. 9, ἐδέοντο μὴ περιθεῖν ἐρριμμένον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης, *Timol.* c. 14, 1 ὁλον ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πατήσοντας τὸν Διονύσιον, *Flam.* c. 20, 2 παρορώντων ἀπάντων δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας (τὸν Ἀννίβαν) ὥσπερ ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, *Soph. Aj.* 1271 οἴχεται ταῦτ' ἐρριμμένα.

56. **παρορωμένος**, 'in a state of neglect.' ὥς δὴ... ὁμοίως ἐχόντων, 'telling him for a fact that the populace are similarly disposed towards their leaders, whenever they show themselves unable to serve them.' For ὥς with the partic. in the gen. absol., see *G. M. T.* § 918; in c. 4, 3 we find the acc. abs.

The verb ἔχειν is often joined to an adverb of manner in the sense of 'to be,' and Plutarch is fond of adding πρὸς, as c. 29, 4, *Per.* c. 10, 2 οἰκείως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, *Philop.* c. 1, 1, *Sull.* c. 11, 5, *Lucull.* c. 22, 4 πάλαι ὑποούλως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, *Num.* c. 6, 8 ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μανικῶς πρὸς πόλεμον, *Cim.* c. 12, 3 πρὸς τοὺς Φασηλίτας φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, *Thes.* c. 19, 5 πολεμικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Nichol, *Death of Themistocles* p. 9, makes his hero tell the story thus:—

"Twas in my twentieth year,  
that, by the Ilissus, Neocles and I  
walked to the shore at sunset, when the Nyx  
murmured with surges of the evil news,  
that Artaphernes, brother of the king,  
sagest of Medes, at Ladé, had o'erwhelmed  
Miletus and our kindred of the isles—  
in that full spring of life, when all the world  
seems to an eager dream a ready spoil,  
'When I am chief in Athens' I exclaimed  
'we shall efface disaster.' Neocles  
smiled, till, as we went pacing by the tide,  
he broke in speech 'So you are born to rule  
and are ambition haunted: see the end.'—



He pointed to a battered hulk that lay  
with yawning rents more ghastly by each wave—  
'I saw this galley crowned with myrtle boughs;  
the swiftest in the war, it bore the gods  
on its exultant bulwarks; now disused  
it falls asunder, plank by plank, unknown.  
So fare the favourites of an hour, the play  
that made them princes on the stage being o'er,  
and the crowd clamours they have served their turn,  
cast like a ruined wreck or broken toy.'

## CHAPTER III

§ 1 l. 1. **ταχὺ καὶ νεανικῶς**, 'quickly (early) and vigorously.'  
*Cat. mi.* c. 16, 3 *ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι νεανικῶς*, *Ages.* c. 11, 5  
*ἐπειράτο νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν*, *Cic.* c. 9, 6  
*νεανικῶς τῶν διγυραρχικῶν καταπτόμενος*, *Plat. Theaet.* p. 168 c  
*πάνν νεανικῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκας*. **μέντοι**, *tamen*, 'yet,'  
notwithstanding his youthful excesses. **ἄψασθαι**, 'laid hold of,  
attracted, him.' The inverse construction is more common, as  
in c. 25, 2, *Cat. ma.* c. 3, 3 *ἄψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας*.

5 3. **κρατήσαι**, 'obtained the mastery over him,' 'prevailed.'

4. **εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς**, 'from the very first.'

This is a phrase of common occurrence in Plutarch, *Ages.* c. 1, 1 *ὥσπερ ἵππους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμαζόμενους*, *Dion.* c. 7, 2, *Alcib.* c. 4, 2, *Aem. Paul.* c. 8, 3 *οὐδεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλη παρανομίᾳ κινεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν*, *Num.* c. 8, 1, *Comp. Lyc.* c. *Num.* c. 4, 4 *εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι καὶ τυπούμενοι*, *Pomp.* c. 1, 1, *Lyc.* c. 16, 1 *τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ρώμην πεφυκός*, c. 18, 2 *εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθίζοντο*, *Pericl.* c. 31, 2, *Lys.* c. 2, 1, *Tit. Flam.* c. 4, 3, *Philop.* c. 1, 2. We find also *εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ*, as *Pelop.* c. 8, 4, *Luc.* c. 33, 3, *Marc.* c. 29, 5.

**τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐπιέμενος**, 'by his ambition to hold the foremost place.'

5. **ἰταμῶς**, 'in headlong fashion' (*εἰμ, ἱτης*), 'recklessly.'

*Cp. Cat. mi.* c. 23, 2 *οὕτω περιφανῶς καὶ ἰταμῶς τοὺς κοινούς ἐξαρπάζων πολέμιους*, *Mor.* 93 *ἢ ἀποκρινάμενον ἰταμῶς καὶ προχείρως*, 127 *ἢ βαδίζειν ἰταμῶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθειαν*, *Dem. Chers.* § 68 *τῶν ἰταμῶς πολιτευομένων*.

**ὕψιστατο**, 'faced,' 'bore up against.' *Demetr.* c. 11, 3 *ἰταμῶς ὑποστὰς τὸν θόρυβον*, *Dem.* c. 6, 4 *ὕψιστάμενος τοὺς δῆλους*, *Mor.* 32 *ὑψίστασθαι τοὺς κινδύνους*, 118 *ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς γενομένους θανάτους πρῶς ὑποστάντας*, *Thuc.* VIII 68, 3 *ἐπειδήπερ ὑπέστη τὰ δεινὰ*. Translate 'he was not undeterred by the (necessary) hatreds and enmities with the men of leading position and influence in the state' which such ambition would entail upon him.

8. **τὴν ἐναντίαν** *sc. ὁδόν*. So *μακράν* c. 4, 1; *τὴν ταχίστην* c. 7, 2; c. 16, 2. **πορευόμενον**: The word is especially appro-

priate to the character and steady-going conservatism of Aristides. Cp. *Arist.* c. 3, 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, ἡναγκάζετο πού καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν . . . ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι οἷς ἔπραττεν ὁ Θεμ., c. 25, 4 χρῆσάμενος αὐτῷ (Themistocles) παρὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῷ. For a similar omission of πρὸς before Ἀριστείδην, see *Comp. Timol. c. Aem. c. 1, 1* οἱ πόλεμοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους γεγόνασιν ἀμφοτέροις ἀνταγωνιστάς, τῷ μὲν Μακεδόνας, τῷ δὲ Καρχηδονίους.

9. *καίτοι*, *quamquam*, 'though,' 'and yet,' introduces a remark limiting the previous statement, to show that variance of political sentiments was not the original cause of their animosity, c. 10, 5. *παντάπασι* . . . *μειρακιώδη*, 'altogether childish.'

*Sull.* c. 4, 4 ἡ ἐχθρὰ βραχεῖαν καὶ μειρακιώδη λαβοῦσα τὴν πρώτην . . . ἀρχήν, *Alex.* c. 31, 7 μειρακιώδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπόκρισιν, *Crass.* c. 16, 1 πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν, *Nat.* c. 8, 10 μειρακιώδους φιλονεικίας, *Arist.* c. 8, 3 τὴν κενὴν καὶ μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες, *Plat. rep.* p. 466 B ἀνότης τε καὶ μειρακιώδης δόξα, *Polyb.* 10, 33, 6 διὰ κενοδοξίαν ἡ μειρακιώδη στάσιν.

§ 21. 11. *Στησιλάω Κέλου*, Stesilaus of Ceos, an island in the Mare Myrtoum not far from Cape Sunium, whose town Iulis was famous as the birthplace of the poets Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides, and of Prodicus the Sophist. Ariston of Ceos (*Arist.* c. 2, 3, not to be confounded with his namesake and contemporary the Stoic philosopher of Chios, *ἐπίκαλουμένος Σέρην*, *Diog. Laert.* vii § 160 ff.) succeeded Lycon as head of the Peripatetic school about B.C. 230.

He was according to Cicero *de fin.* v 5, 13 a man of taste and elegance, but without the earnestness of a true philosopher (*concinuus et elegans: sed ea quae desideratur a magno philosopho gravitas in eo non fuit; scripta sane et multa et polita, sed nescio quo pacto auctoritatem oratio non habet*). In his *de sen.* § 3 Cic. speaks of him slightly for giving Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. Besides this work he appears to be the author of one called *ἑρωτικά διατριβαί* (quoted once or twice by Athenaeus under the title of *ἑρωτικά ὁμοῖα*) and another—inscribed *Λύκων* out of gratitude to his master—the work from which the present anecdote is probably taken (*Mor.* 14 r).

13. *ιστορήκεν*, 'has recorded,' c. 1, 3. *ἐκ τούτου*, 'from that time,' 'thenceforward.' *διετέλουν* . . . *στασιάζοντες*, c. 31, 4. G. § 279, 4 n., Rutherford § 369.

14. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ*, 'not but what,' lit. 'this was not, however, the only ground but' etc. Cp. c. 5, 4; c. 23, 3; c. 29, 3; *Timol. lex.* p. 243<sup>a</sup>.

16. *ἔοικεν*, a weaker expression than *φαίνεται*, but objective

and not, like *δοκεῖ*, subjective. *αὔξῃσαι τὴν διαφοράν*, 'widened the breach between them.' *πρῶος*, 'placable,' 'gentle' )( *βίαιος*.

17. *καλοκαγαθικός* (unclassical), 'inclined to *καλοκαγαθία*' (c. 12, 3) or 'conservatism,' the conduct and character of *καλοκαγαθοί*, which was originally a party name = Lat. *optimates*, *boni viri* 'the nobles' or 'conservatives' as opp. to the mass of the people. *τὸν τρόπον*, the defining accusative (Ruth. § 81), is parallel (not opposed) to *τῇ φύσει*, G. § 188, 1 Note 1.

18. *οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν*, 'with no desire to ingratiate himself with the people, nor yet to win personal glory.'

Cp. *Cat. min.* c. 32, 1 *πρὸς χάριν ἐπολιτεύοντο τῶν πολλῶν*, *Phoc.* c. 1, 1 *πρὸς χάριν πολιτεύεσθαι Μακεδόνων*, *Fab. Max.* c. 20, 2 *πρὸς χάριν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας*, *Luc.* c. 5, 8 ὁ *κρατὴν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν . . . ἐχθρὰν εἶχε*, *Comp. Alc. c. Cor.* 1, 3 *ἐν τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς*, *Thes.* c. 32, 1 *πρὸς χάριν ὅλῳ διαλέγεσθαι*, *Mar.* c. 28, 1 *πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδούς τοῖς πολλοῖς*, *Ag.* c. 2, 6 *τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα πεπολιτευμένων*, *Nic.* c. 2, 3 *οἷς πρὸς χάριν ἐπραττεν*, *C. Gr.* c. 11, 2, *Alex.* c. 18, 4 *ὀνειρου*, *ὅν οἱ μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἐξηγοῦντο*, *Dion.* c. 8, 3 *ἐγίνγνωσκεν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἀλλ' ἀκοντος ὑπὸ χρείας τοῦ τυράννου πρῶτος ὢν*, *σε non cum bona voluntate tyranni sed invito eo principem esse*, *Cat. mi.* c. 48 *ἀπεκρίνατο μῆτε τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ Πομπηίου εἶπειν μῆτε ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν*, *respondit se neque priora illa odio Pompei neque haec gratia permotum dixisse*, *Dem. de Chers.* p. 90, 3 *μῆτε πρὸς ἐχθρὰν τοιεύσθαι λόγον μηδένα μῆτε πρὸς χάριν*, *neque odio neque gratia regi in dicendo*.

19. *ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετ' ἀσφαλείας κτλ.*, 'making the highest good of the state, together (consistently) with steadfastness and justice, his spring of action.' Cp. *Dionys. Hal. ant. rom.* x 55, 1 *ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ταῦτα βουλευσάμενος*.

The contrast between the aristocratical and conservative leanings of Aristides and the democratical and destructive tendencies of Themistocles is more clearly indicated in *Arist.* c. 2, 5 'Ἀριστείδης δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαρίζομενος, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδὼν ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστῷ καὶ δίκαιᾳ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξίων θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.' See also *Aristot. περὶ Ἀθην.* πολ. c. 23 p. 66 ed. Kenyon ἦσαν δὲ προστάται τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσισμάχων καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους, ὁ μὲν τὰ πολέμια ἀσκών, ὁ δὲ τὰ πολιτικά διενὸς εἶναι <δοκῶν> καὶ δικαιοσύνην τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν διαφέρειν διὰ καὶ ἐχρῶντο τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ, τῷ δὲ συμβούλῳ, *Aesch. c. Tim.* § 25, c. *Ctes.* § 181 Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος.

21. *ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι*, 'stirring up, as he did, the people to embark in many novel schemes.'

22. *μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας*, 'seeking to introduce great innovations.' Cp. *Sol.* c. 15, 1 *ἡ ἀρεστὸν ἦν* ('where the present position was tolerable') *οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἰατρειὰν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν*, *Cleom.* c. 3, 2 *κινούμενος ὑπερφυῶς πρὸς τὴν καινοτομίαν* τοῦ Ἀγιδος, *Cic.* c. 2, 4, *Plat. legg.* p. 950 A *καινοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιοῦντων*, *Polyb.* 13, 1, 2 *οἰκέως διακείμενοι πρὸς καινοτομίαν τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας*, 35, 2, 8

ἐτοίμους πάντας πρὸς καινοτομίαν ποιήσουσι. The primary meaning of καινοτομεῖν is 'to make a fresh cut,' or, as a mining term, 'to open a new vein'; hence it comes to mean *res novare*, as Ar. *Ecc.* 584 where it is opposed to τοῖς ἡθάσι λαν τοῖς τ' ἀρχαίοις ἐνδιατρίβειν.

23. ἐνιστάμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν αὔξιν, 'opposing him to prevent his aggrandisement,' interfering against the increase of his influence (*Clough*), c. 7, 1. Cp. *Marcell.* c. 22, 1 ἐνισταμένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον.

§ 3 l. 24. λέγεται γάρ, in ref. to πολλὰ κινεῦντι κτλ. παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν, 'transported with a passion for glory,' The word means 'borne away from,' 'swerving aside from,' as in Plat. *Soph.* 228 ο δσα καθ' ἐκάστην ὁρμὴν παράφορα αὐτοῦ (τοῦ σκοποῦ) γίγνεται (i.e. 'swerving from the mark'), *ib.* D (ψυχῆς) παραφόρου ξυνέσεως γιγνόμενης; hence abs. 'deranged,' 'frenzied,' as in *Artox.* c. 5, 2 ὑπόκουφος καὶ παράφορος, *Dion.* c. 2, 2 παιδάρια καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παραφόρους δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνθρώπους.

25. ὕπό, *prae*, 'owing to.' ἐραστής, *studiosus*, *appetens*, frequently applied to things: cp. *Cam.* c. 25, 1 δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστής, Plat. *Rep.* vii p. 521 B ἐραστὰς τοῦ ἀρχεῖν, Xen. *Cyr.* i 5, 12 τοὺς ἐπαινων ἐραστὰς, *Soph. Oed. R.* 601 ἐραστής τῆςδε τῆς γνῶμης, Eur. *Heracl.* 377 ὦ πολέμων ἐραστὰ, Herod. iii 53, 5 πολλοὶ αὐτῆς (τῆς τυραννίδος) ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, Ar. *Av.* 324 ἐραστὰς τῆςδε τῆς χώρας, 474 μοναρχίας ἐραστὰ, Pl. 254 τοῦ πονεῖν ἐρασταί, *Pac.* 191, *Nub.* 1458.

26. τῆς . . . διαβοηθείσης, 'when the generalship of Miltiades was the common talk everywhere.' *Mor.* p. 871 A διεβοήθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, *Per.* c. 19, 1 διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους, *Sertor.* c. 4, 1, c. 18, 2 ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διεβοήθη, *Lucian Men.* c. 6 μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπὶ συνέσει διαβεβοημένων. ἐν Μαραθῶνι: so *Thuc.* i 18, 1, ii 34, 1. *Cobet (V.L.* p. 201; *N.L.* p. 95) maintains that Μαραθῶνι is a local adverb as much as Πυθοί, Ἀθήνησι (c. 1, 1), and that therefore the preposition should be omitted without regard to the authority of the MSS, even the best of which insert it in violation of the metre, as in *Aristophanes Eq.* 781, where the Ravenna has ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Cp. *Ach.* 699, *Eq.* 1344, *Vesp.* 711, *Thesm.* 807. In *Thuc.* i 73, 4 all MSS omit the prep. Marathon, the scene of the famous battle between the Persians and Athenians in B.C. 490, was a deme of the tribe Leontis near a bay on the E. coast of Attica.

28. σύννους ὀράσθαι, 'he was observed by himself, in thoughtful mood.' Cp. *Brut.* c. 40 σύννονν ὀράσθαι καὶ σιωπηλόν,

Οἷς. c. 4, 5 σύννουν καθέζεσθαι πολλὸν χρόνον. The phrase πρὸς ἑαυτῷ εἶναι (γίγνεσθαι), 'to be by oneself,' occurs several times in Plutarch, *Ages.* c. 11, 7 χρόνον τιὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος, *Alex.* c. 37, 3, *Phoc.* c. 5, 3 αὐτὸν ὄντα πρὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν διανοίαν, *Dion.* c. 55, 1. τὰ πολλά, *plerumque*, 'usually.'

- 6 30. τοὺς πότους παραιτῆσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις: Blass takes this to be a double accusative: 'begged his boon companions to excuse him drinking bouts'; but why not 'declined his customary drinking bouts'? For παραιτῆσθαι, *deprecari*, *recusare*, 'to beg to be excused,' 'to decline,' *cp.* *Mor.* 207 Ε οὕτω μετενόησεν ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παραιτήσασθαι τὸ δεῖπνον, *Per.* c. 23, 1 παρηγείτο τὸν πόλεμον, *Plat. Prot.* p. 358 Α τὴν δὲ Προδίκου διαίρεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων παραιτοῦμαι.

*Cp.* *Mor.* 184 F Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐτι μεράκιον ὦν ἐν ποτοῖς ἐκυλινδεῖτο, 800 Β ἀκούεις ὅτι καὶ Θ. ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας διανοούμενος ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων ἑαυτὸν, 552 Β εἰ δέ τις . . . Θεμιστοκλέους ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαίων ἐκώμαζε καὶ ὕβριζε δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀφείλετο τὴν πόλιν . . . ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπολώλεισαν ἡμῖν οἱ Μαραθῶνες . . . οὐδὲν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλα φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσιν, οὐδ' ἀργεὶ δὲ δύνηται τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ δραστήριον, ἀλλ' ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται, πρὶν εἰς τὸ μόνιμον καὶ καθεστηκὸς ἦθος εἰλθεῖν.

31. τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, a periphrasis for τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολήν.

*Cp.* *Dem.* c. 30, 2 τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον δυνήτους, *Cleom.* c. 18, 2 αἷτιον γίγνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς, *Mor.* 102 Β ἡ περὶ σε διαβασίς (*animi affectio tui*), 118 Ε τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτην (*filii mortem*), 122 Α τῆς ἀνωφελούς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καταφθορᾶς (*inutili illa corporis animique tui corruptela*), *Lys.* 81, 4, p. 187 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν κακίαν (*ipsius malitiam*), *Plato Phaedr.* p. 279 Α τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν λόγους (*Lysiae orationes*).

32. ὥς . . . οὐκ ἐψῆ, 'that it prevented him from sleeping,' opt. of indirect discourse after ὥς.

The story recurs *Thest.* c. 6, 7 τότε δὲ παντάσιν ἦν (Θησεύς) φανερός πεπονθὼς ὅπερ ὕστερον χρόνους πολλοῖς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπαθε καὶ εἶπεν ὥς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐψῆ τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον, *Mor.* 84 Β Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰπὼν ὥς οὐκ ἐξ καθεύδειν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἀνίστησι τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον, οὐκ ἔταικων μόνον οὐδὲ θαυμάζων (τὴν Μιλτιάδου τόλμην καὶ ἀνδρείαν) καταφανῆς ἦν εὐθύς ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, p. 92 C, p. 800 C, [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 184 F ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγὼν ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκ ἐτι ἦν ἐντυχεῖν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὥς Οὐκ ἐξ με καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ραθυμεῖν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. *Cp.* *Cicero Tusc.* iv 19, 44 noctu ambulabat in publico Themistocles, quod somnum capere non posset, quærentibusque respondebat, *Miltiædis tropæis se e somno suscitari*.

- § 4 l. 34. πέρας . . . ἀρχήν, being predicate nouns, are without the article.

36. ἑαυτὸν . . . ἤλειφε, 'was anointing' i.e. 'training, preparing himself.' *Cp.* c. 1, 2.

Similarly ἀποδύεσθαι from its meaning 'to strip for gymnastic exercises' came to be used figuratively of 'preparing for any thing requiring effort'; *Dem.* c. 6, 2 Δημοσθένης τὸ πρῶτον ἀποδύνει πρὸς τὸ

λέγειν, *Agis* c. 6, 1 οἱ νέοι συναπεδύσαντο (αὐτῷ) πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, *una* (cum eo) se accingunt ad virtutem capessendam, *Mor.* 811 εἰ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδιδόμενοι πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν, 94 ὁ φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα πάσης τύχης συναποδύσσομενους, *Diod. Sic.* 11 29, 5 ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδύντες ἐργολαβίας ἐνεκεν.

37. ἦσκει, another metaphor borrowed from the palaestra. πόρρωθεν ἔτι (for ἔτι πόρρωθεν, to avoid the hiatus between ἦσκει and ἔτι), 'from afar,' 'long before.'

## CHAPTER IV

§ 11. 1. καί, 'and so.' πρῶτον μὲν, correlative to ἐκ δὲ τοῦ-του l. 18.

τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσδοον, *pecuniam publicam quae ex metallis redibat* (*Nepos Them.* c. 2), 'the income derived from Laureium.'

The silver mines of Laureium (Λαύρεια or Λαύρια), situated in the south of Attica, north-west of the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thoricus and the western at Anaphlystus, formed for many years one of the most productive sources of Athenian revenue (*Ar. Vesp.* 657). They were farmed in small parcels to hereditary tenants, who, besides a sum paid for the right of working them, tendered a fixed portion of the produce to the state. This rent the people had hitherto enjoyed like the profits of a private partnership, by sharing it equally among them; it was one year unusually large, and would have yielded to each citizen of the poorer class a sum which would have been felt as an important addition to his ordinary income. Themistocles prevailed upon the people to forego this advantage and to apply the fund to the enlargement of their navy, making the war against Aegina his immediate pretext. See *Herod.* vii 144 ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ('the public treasury') τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφί προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἐμὲλλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν (*sortiri viritim*) ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς, τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε (*persuasit*) Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης παυσάμενους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. *Aristotle* Ἀθην. πολ. c. 22 p. 62 ed. pr. refers to these mines under the name Maroneia—which was doubtless the place in the neighbourhood of Laurium mentioned by *Dem. Panathen.* § 4—ἔπει δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ ταῦτα Νικομήδους ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ καὶ περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, συμβουλευόντων τινῶν τῷ δήμῳ διανείμασθαι τὸ ἀργύριον, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκώλυεν, οὐ λέγων ὅτι χρήσεται τοῖς χρημασιν, ἀλλὰ δαίνεισαι κελύων τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίω ἑκατὸν ἐκάστῳ τάλαντον, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀρέσκη τὸ ἀνάλωμα, τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ δὲ μή, κομισσάσθαι τὰ χρηματά παρὰ τῶν δανεισαμένων. λαβὼν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐναυπηγήσατο τριήρεις ἑκατὸν, ἐκάστου ναυπηγουμένου τῶν ἑκατὸν μίαν, αἱς ἐναυμαχῆσαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.

2. ἴθος ἔχοντων = ἐῖλωθόντων.

3. διανείμασθαι, reciprocal middle, 'to divide amongst themselves,' so that each received ten drachmas, *Herod.* vii 144.

4. παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 'coming forward to speak before the people.' Παρίεναι and παρελθεῖν were technical terms in this sense, *Thuc.* v 45, 4 ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence [*Dem.*] *περὶ συντάξ.* § 14 calls 'the speakers' οἱ παριόντες.

5. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, 'out of this money,' like ἀπό l. 16, the means being considered as the starting-point, c. 31, 1. Cp. Arist. *or. de IV vir.* p. 187 ed. Jebb ἐκέλευε τοῖνυν Ἀθηναίους τῆς μὲν διαδόσεως ὑπεριδεῖν, ναὺς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, πρόσφασιν μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, οὗτος γὰρ ἐνειστήκει τότε, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι προορῶν καὶ νομίζων τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὥσπερ προοίμιον γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶναι δ' οὐ πέρας τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ παντός . . . ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μᾶλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐτέρων ἀγώνων.

8. ἤκαζε, 'was at its height,' c. 24, 2, *Ant.* c. 32, 4 ἀκμαζούσης τῆς συνοουσίας, Thuc. III 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος. Cp. Herod. VII 145 ὁ δὲ ὢν μέγιστος (πόλεμος ἦν) Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι, Thuc. I c. 14, 3; c. 41, 2. Aegina, one of the earliest naval powers—the removal of which as an eyesore of Piraeus was advised by Pericles (*Dem.* c. 1, 2, Aristot. *Rhet.* III 10 § 7d)—had made war upon Athens at the instigation of Thebes in B.C. 507 (Herod. VII 81-89). Athens retaliated by inducing Sparta to punish Aegina for her submission to Persia B.C. 493 by taking hostages; it was the retention of these hostages in Attica that brought about a renewal of the war (Her. VI 50, 87 ff.)

9. κατείχον . . . τὴν θάλασσαν i. q. ἐθαλασσοκράτουν, 'were masters of the sea.' Cp. Cic. *or. p. leg. Man.* § 54 *civitas Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur. οἱ νησιῶται*, esp. the Corcyraeans, Thuc. I c. 14, 2.

10. πλῆθει, 'superior numbers,' as often in Thuc. II c. 11, 1; c. 87, 6; c. 100, 1.

§ 2 l. 10. ἢ καὶ ῥᾶον, 'wherefore all the more easily.' ἢ καὶ before a comparative adverb emphasises an inference: cp. ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον *Aem. Paul.* c. 33, 4, Thuc. I c. 11, 1, c. 25, 4, III 13, 2, IV c. 1, 3, c. 103, 2, ἢ καὶ ῥᾶον II 2, 3.

11. συνέπεισεν sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Δαρεῖον . . . ἐπισείων, 'shaking Darius at them as a scare.'

12. μακράν serves as predicate 'were a long way off.' Cp. Arist. c. 4, 3 αἱ δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου παρὰ Πτολεμαίου μακρὰν ἦσαν ἐλπίδες. οὐ πάνυ (not *omnino* non, 'altogether not,' 'not at all,' but) 'not altogether,' 'not absolutely,' for there *was* a general apprehension of such an invasion, τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος Thuc. I 14, 3. The meaning of οὐ πάνυ has been thoroughly discussed by Cope, App. Note C p. 139 ff. to his translation of Plato's *Gorgias*.

13. ὡς ἀφιζόμενοι, G. § 227 N. 2 (a), *MT.* § 864.

## 15. ἀποχρησάμενος, 'turning to account.'

Ἀποχρησθαι means (1) *multum et libere uti, totum in usum suum consumere*, *Mor.* 267 F, *Cat. ma.* c. 5, 1 τοῖς οἰκέταις ὡς ὑποζυγίοις ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γήρως ἐξελαύνειν, *Alex.* c. 71, 2 ὕβριν ἐφασαν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἀπαντα νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι, *Caes.* c. 58, 2 ἐνέτικτον καινῆς . . . ἔρωτα δόξης ὡς ἀποκεχρημένῳ τῇ παρούσῃ, *Polyb.* XVII 15, 9 χρώνται τοῖς προδόταις οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον· ὅταν γὰρ μὴν ἀποχρήσωνται ('when they have made what use they can of them'), χρώνται λοιπὸν ὡς προδόταις, *Thuc.* I 68, 4, VI 17, 1, VII 42, 5. (2) *abuti*, 'to misuse' or 'to use for some other object than the pretended one', c. 28, 2, *Timol.* c. 16, 2 πρὸς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ σχολῇ, *Mor.* 178 C συνεβούλευε (Φίλιππος τῷ υἱῷ) τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυνατῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἶτα οἷς μὲν χρῆσθαι, οἷς δ' ἀποχρήσθαι, *Aem. Paul.* c. 36, 6 ἱκανῶς ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἀποκεχρηται νέμεσιν, *Op. Alc.* c. *Cor.* c. 2, 7 ἀποχρωμένον αὐτῷ (Alcibiades) μάλλον ἢ χρωμένον.

## εὐκαίρως, 'opportunately.'

16. ἑκατόν: 200 according to Herod. and Justin II 12, 12; *Nepos Them.* c. 2, 2 and *Polyaenus Strat.* c. 1, 30 agree with *Plutarch*. Thirlwall reconciles the different statements by supposing that they built a hundred new galleys, and so increased their naval force to two hundred ships.

17. αἷς καὶ . . . ἐνανμάχησαν, 'with which they actually fought, as he intended.' *Cp. Thuc.* I 14, 3, II 86, 1.

§ 31. 18. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, *post hoc*, 'after this,' answering to *πρῶτον μὲν* I. 1. *Cp.* c. 19, 2; in c. 20, 2 it means *propter hoc*. κατὰ μικρόν, 'little by little,' 'gradually.'

19. ὑπάγων, 'luring them on insensibly,' *Xen. Cyr.* I vi 37 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς δυσχωρίαν φυγῇ ὑπαγαγόντες, III 2, 8 ἐπειδὴν ὑπαγάγωνσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφύγοντες. καταβιβάζων . . . πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν *sc.* by connecting it with its port Piraeus.

20. ὥς . . . ὄντας = λέγων ὥς εἰεν. τὰ πεζά, *rem pedestrem*, limitative acc. after ἀξιωμαχοῦς. *Cp. Thuc.* IV 12, 3 τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις. οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἀξιωμαχοῦς, 'not a match even for their neighbours,' i.e. the Boeotians.

21. ὄντας *sc.* τοὺς πολίτας, implied in the preceding πόλιν. τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ, 'the defence, protection afforded by their ships.' See n. to c. 12, 1, and *cp. Thuc.* II 39, 1 τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν εὐνύχῃ, *Dem.* 54, 36 ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐτοιμότης, *Xen. Cyr.* I i 5 τῷ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ, *Hier.* c. 10, 3 ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος.

22. ἀμύνασθαι, aor. of a single expected event.

23. ἄρχειν, imperf. of a continuous state of things. ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων *sc. legg.* IV 706 B, where, though *Themistocles* is not mentioned by name, *Plato*, in comparing the comparative effects of their naval and military victories on



the Athenians, censures the innovations introduced by him, regarding the land service as a type of steadiness and inflexibility, the sea-service as one of mutability and adventure, ἔτι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις ἐπὶ ἀπολέσαι παῖδας αὐτοῖς συνήγεκε ('it would have been better for them (the Athenians) to have lost seven sons oftener' as a tribute to Minos) πρὶν (protius quam) ἀντὶ πεζῶν ὀπλιτῶν μονίμων (statariorum) ναυτικούς γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν μένοντας ἐπιφερομένους πολεμίων, ἀλλ' εἰκυίας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις καὶ σφόδρα ἐτοίμας ὅπλα τε ἀπολλύσι καὶ φεύγουσι δὴ τινας οὐκ αἰσχροῦς, ὥς φασι, φυγάς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ ναυτικῆς ὀπλιτείας ῥήματα φιλεῖ ξυμβαίνειν, οὐκ ἀξία ἐπαίνων πολλάκις μυρίων ἀλλὰ τούναντίον.

This passage is also referred to in *Philop.* c. 14, 2 πλὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν λέγουσιν ὀκνοῦντα γεῦσθαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ὠφελειῶν τοὺς πολίτας, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ Πλάτωνα, ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἀπρακτοὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἔκουσώς, and by *Aristides or. de IVviris* II p. 205 ed. Jebb Πλάτων κατηγορεῖ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐμβιβάσαντος Ἀθηναίους εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, φάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐθισθῆναι φεύγειν ἐκ τούτου καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι. Grote contends that Plato does not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habit of obedience far more complete than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman.

24. ναυβάτας, a poetical word found in *Thuc.* I 121, 3, VII 75, 7, VIII 44, 1.

25. διαβολὴν . . . παρέσχεν, 'furnished occasion for a charge against himself.' ὥς ἀρα, 'that, strange to say,' indicates the surprising nature of the charge.

26. τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος, 'taking away from the citizens.' Cp. *Xen. Hell.* II iii 20 τὰ ὅπλα πάντων παρείλοντο, *Symp.* IV 40 εἰ μού τις καὶ τὰ νῦν ὅτα παρέλοιτο, *Mem.* I vi 1 τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ παρελέσθαι.

27. ὑπηρεσίον, τὸ κῶας ᾧ ἐπικάθηται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρίβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγὰς *Schol. ad Thuc.* II 93, 1. Cp. *Arist. Eq.* 785, *Isocr. de pace* § 48 τότε μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖεν, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβίβαζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὀπλων ἐξέπεμπον· νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ' ὅπταν ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἀρχεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιούντες ὑπηρεσίον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἷους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διήλθον, μεθ' ὀπλων κινδυνεύουσιν.

28. συνέστειλε, 'reduced.' Συστέλλειν is 'to draw together,' 'bring into a small compass,' as in folding up, wrapping, c. 29, 2. Cp. *Dem. de cor.* § 246 ταῦτα (τὰ ἁμαρτήματα) εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστέλλαι, *Plato legg.* p. 691 E τὴν τῶν βασιλείων

γένεσιν εἰς τὸ μέτρον συνέσπειλε, with the accessory notion of 'abasing,' 'humbling,' Plut. *Cleom.* c. 11, 2 συσσελλομένων εἰς τὴν εὐγενήν καὶ λακωνικὴν ἐκείνην διαίταν, c. 13, 4 συνεσταλμένον δειπνον (*parca et frugalis cena*).

§ 4 l. 28. ἔπραξε, 'achieved,' 'carried through.'

29. κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, 'by overpowering his opposition (to the augmentation of the marine) in the ecclesia.' *ιστορεῖ*, c. 1, 3 note.

The work of Stesimbrotus of Thasos (c. 2, 3), to which Plutarch frequently refers, was probably the same as that quoted by Athenaeus (xiii 589) by the title *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*. It appears to have been a sort of *Chronique scandaleuse* of these worthies, dealing mostly with anecdotes of their private life. Cp. c. 24, 3 and *Pericl.* c. 13, 7, where Plutarch speaks of him in terms of disparagement. His ill-natured remarks about Cimón were no doubt occasioned by the part which that hero took in the siege of his native island.

30. εἰ μὲν δὴ . . . ἐπισκοπεῖν, 'whether indeed he really did (as Plato thinks) relax or not the original strictness and mar the integrity of the constitution, let it be a subject for philosophers rather to consider.' φιλοσοφώτερον is for μᾶλλον φιλόσοφον, as Thuc. vii 77, 4 ἀξιώτεροι for μᾶλλον ἀξιοί, Xen. *Oec.* c. 15, 3 ἀσχιον for μᾶλλον ἀσχρόν, *Cyr.* viii ii 13, *Hell.* vii v 10 θαυμαστότερα for μᾶλλον θαυμαστά. For τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, cp. Thuc. vii 13, 3 τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ('the exact discipline') τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, and for τὸ καθαρὸν, Plut. *Cat. mai.* c. 4, τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης. The explanation of G. H. Schäfer, who is followed by Engelmann in his version, is somewhat different: *liceat* (nobis alio tempore) *magis ut decet philosophum* (quam nunc licet versantibus in historico argumento) *expendere*. Orelli proposed to read φιλοσοφωτέρων.

32. οὔτι δὲ . . . ἐμαρτύρησε: This is aimed at Plato *legg.* p. 707 B, who will not allow the truth of this statement either, but contends that the battles of Salamis and Artemisium did not either save the Athenians or make them better than they were before, but that those of Marathon and Plataea τὴν μὲν ἀρξαι τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι.

34. ἀνέστησαν, 'set up,' 'reinstated.' Cp. *Alcib.* c. 32, 5 τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐκ λυπρῶν ἐπὶ λειψάνων ἀναστήσας, *Arist.* c. 10, 2 τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου, Eur. *H.F.* 845 θεὸν ἀνέστησεν, μόνος τιμὰς πιτνοῦσας ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὕπο.

35. τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης κτλ., 'besides other testimony there is also that of Xerxes himself.' Cp. Thuc. i 73, 5 τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον (sc. of the battle of Salamis being the salvation of Greece) αὐτὸς (ὁ βάρβαρος) ἐποίησε: νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς

οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

§ 5 l. 36. ἀθραύστου διαμενούσης, 'though it continued throughout unbroken.'

38. ἐμποδὼν εἶναι, infinitive of purpose, corresponding to the future partic. δουλωσόμενον. G. Gr. § 265, MT. § 770, § 772.

39. τῆς διώξεως, gen. after ἐμποδὼν, a word of hindrance: cp. Xen. Cyr. VIII v 24 ἐμποδὼν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε, Hier. c. 8, 1 ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἐμποδὼν σοι τοῦτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι, Hell. VI v 38 μόνους δὲ ὑμᾶς ὁλοῦνται ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Eur. Suppl. 395 λόγων τις ἐμποδὼν ὅδ' ἔρχεται.

## CHAPTER V

Before giving an account of the Persian war Plutarch, in his usual way, puts together a few characteristic anecdotes and notices of Themistocles.

§ 1 l. 1. σύντονον . . . χρηματιστήν, 'eager in the acquisition of riches,' not in a sordid way but 'for the sake of liberality,' that he might have the more to spend. Cp. Plato Theaet. p. 144 D πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθεριότητα θαυμαστός.

2. καὶ γάρ, not *elenim*, but *nam et*, καὶ answering to the καὶ before λαμπρόν. Cp. Xen. Oec. c. 5, 4 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί (*nam in agris quam in urbe*) ἀεὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ αἱ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰσίν.

8 3. φιλοθύτην ὄντα, 'since he was fond of sacrificing.' Sacrifices were among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly followed by the entertainment of friends and relations (Xen. Mem. II ix 4, iii 11). Clearchus, according to Athen. XII 533 E, says of him ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλίας Τρίκλιον οἰκοδομησάμενος περικαλλέστατον ἀγαπᾶν ἐφήσεν, εἰ τοῦτον φίλων πληρώσειεν.

4. ἀφθόνου χορηγίας, 'a plentiful supply,' 'an ample revenue,' lit. 'means for the provision of χοροί.' Cp. Mor. p. 602 A χορηγία βασιλικῇ πρυτανεύόμενος, Arist. Pol. p. 1325<sup>b</sup>, 37 οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲν τε πολιτείας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἀνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας, Polyb. XI 8, 5 καὶ τις ἦν περὶ τοὺς πλείστους καλλωπισμὸς ὑπερέχων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν, XVII 18, 5 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον οὐ περιττεύων τῇ χορηγίᾳ. See also c. 7, 4 and my n. to Sull. c. 12, 2.

5. γλίσχρότητα πολλήν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν (sc. αὐτοῦ), 'charge him with great stinginess and penuriousness.' Cp. c. 21, 2. Herodotus (VII 112) represents him as being insatiably covetous. Γλίσχρος (γλίχουμαι) is properly *tenax*, 'sticky,' hence of persons *parcus*, 'close-fisted'; μικρολογία is defined by Theophrastus *Char.* XXIV ed. Jebb to be φειδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρὸν, 'a too strict attention to the difference,' i.e. to profit and loss. The two words are again combined *Mor.* p. 125 E.

6. ὥς expresses the ground of their charge, c. 4 § 3.

7. τὰ πεμπόμενα, viands sent from time to time as a present for the guest-friends (ξένοι) whom he was entertaining from foreign states. Athenaeus (XIV 656 D) tells a similar tale of Simonides, who ἐν Συρακούσαις τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἀποστέλλοντος αὐτῷ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς πωλῶν τὰ πλείω τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων ἐαυτῷ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπετίθετο. τῶν δωδμήων, partitive gen. after τὰ πεμπόμενα.

9. ἠπειλῆσε . . . ποιήσαιν δούρειον ἵππον, 'threatened that he would soon turn his house into a wooden horse.' Cp. Cic. *or. p. Mur.* § 78 *intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus, a quo nunquam me consule opprimemini.* The threat meant, that out of his own house there should come misfortunes to ruin him, just as the Greeks who captured Troy came out of the wooden horse (Hom. *Od.* VIII 493).

10. ἐγκλήματα συγγενικά . . . ταραξάν, 'that he would stir up family quarrels and litigation between the fellow and some of his relations.' ταρασσεῖν, a frequent expression, 'to raise by stirring up'; cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 22 *στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ταρασσεῖν*, Plat. *Rep.* 567 A *πολέμους ταρασσεῖν*, Soph. *Ant.* 792 *τόδε νείκος ταραξας*, Dem. *de cor.* § 151 *ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος ἐταράχθη*, § 153 *ἡλίκᾳ πράγματα ταραξασα*.

11. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ: c. 16, 2.

§ 2 l. 13. ἔτι μὲν answers to *eis δ' Ὀλυμπίαν. ἀφανής*, 'obscure,' 'unknown to fame' (ἐπιφανής (c. 1, 1). Hermione (or Hermion) was a town at the southern extremity of Argolis, celebrated for its temple of Demeter.

14. σπουδαζόμενον, 'held in high esteem,' 'courted.' Cp. *Per.* c. 24, 3 *αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι*, Luc. *dial. deor.* c. 16, 1 *ὁ δὲ Ἡφαίστος τὴν Ἀφροδίτῃν ἐγχευε καὶ σπουδάζεται πρὸς αὐτῆς*, Strabo *Geogr.* XVII c. 3, 15 *μάλιστα ἐσπουδάσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μασανάσσης δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλίαν*.

15. ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, 'moved him by his importunity to practise at his house.'

16. φιλοτιμούμενος . . . πρὸς αὐτόν, 'because he was ambitious of the honour of many persons frequenting his house.' Cp. Xen. *Hierp.* I 25 εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένους ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι. τὴν οἰκίαν, 'the house where Epicles was staying.'

17. Ὀλυμπίαν: the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. The story may have arisen from Timocreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint of the shabbiness of the entertainment given at the Isthmian games by Themistocles to the visitors.

18. διαμιλλώμενος, *contendens*, 'vying with.' Cp. *Dem.* c. 31, 2 διημιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους, *Cic.* c. 32, 4 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, c. 4, 5 διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. For instances of διὰ with this meaning of *certatim* in composition, see my n. to Xen. *Cyr.* I iv 4.

19. σκηνάς, 'tents' or 'pavilions' richly furnished, which were necessary for the accommodation of visitors at the games. Cp. *Alc.* c. 12, 1 σκηνὴν αὐτῷ (Alcibiadi) κεκοσμημένην διαπρεπῶς ἔστησαν Ἐφέσιοι. τὴν ἄλλην . . . παρασκευήν, 'the general magnificence of his equipage.'

§ 3 l. 21. ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης: cp. *Cim.* c. 4, 1 Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητὸς ἦν Ἡγησιπύλης . . . θυγατὸς Ὀλάρου τοῦ βασιλέως, c. 5, 3 ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ιδεάν οὐ μεμπτός, ὡς Ἴων ὁ ποιητὴς φησιν, ἀλλὰ μέγας. φανείς δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα λαμπρὸς καὶ ἀνδρώδης ταχὺ δόξαν τῇ πόλει μετ' εὐνοίας ἔσχεν, ἀθροισζομένων πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἄξια τοῦ Μαραθῶνος ἡδὴ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν. ὀρμήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἄσμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐδέξατο καὶ μεστὸς ὢν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνήγγεν <εἰς> τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχάς, εὐάρμοστον ὄντα καὶ προσφιλῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς διὰ πραότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' αὐτὸν ᾤξησεν Ἀριστείδης . . . οἷον ἀντίπαλον πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ τόλμαν.

φόντο δὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν, 'they thought proper to allow such extravagances as these.'

22. μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, 'since he had not yet become distinguished.' The use of μή for οὐ, with a participle other than conditional, is a familiar usage in Plutarch and late writers, but inadmissible of course in classical Greek.

23. δοκῶν, 'being thought,' c. 2, 6. ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, 'with inadequate (lit. 'non-existing') means.'

24. παρ' ἄξιαν=οὐ κατ' ἄξιαν, 'beyond desert,' 'unduly.' Cp. c. 2, 2. προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν, *tantum abfuit ut admirationem, ut insolentiae notam sibi contraheret*, 'got a

character besides (i.e. *πρὸς τῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκειν*) for vulgar ostentation, pretentiousness.' *ὀφλίσκάνειν* with acc. often signifies 'to incur by one's conduct the punishment or reproach of.' Cp. *Mor.* 856 C *ἀνελευθερίαν τῇ κακοθελείᾳ προσοφλίσκάνουσιν*, 1090 A, *Dem.* 8, 12 *ὑστερίζοντας τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνην προσοφλίσκάνειν*.

25. *ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν*: a further proof of his *φιλοτιμία*.

The choregia was one of the most expensive of the recurring liturgies (*ἐγκύκλιοι* *Ληπούργια*) at Athens, the others being *ἀρχιθεωρία*, *γυμνασιαρχία*, *ἐστιάσεις*, to which the representative of a property of 3 talents was liable. The duties of the choregus were to get the choreutae together, to provide them with a trainer (*χοροδιδάσκαλος*), to pay and maintain them while training, and also to furnish them with the requisite dresses, crowns and masks.

*τραγῳδοῖς* may be taken either with *χορηγῶν* or with *ἐνίκησε*. Cp. *Dem. Mid.* § 43 *τραγῳδοῖς κεχορηγήκῃ ποτε οὗτος, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι* with *Theoph. Char.* xxii *νικήσας τραγῳδοῖς*, 'when he has gained a prize in a tragic contest,' and *Andoc. c. Alc.* § 41 *καίτοι τυγχάνω νενικηκώς λαμπάδι καὶ τραγῳδοῖς*; also the phrase *καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς*, 'at the representation of the new tragedies,' with which cp. *Cic. ep. ad Att.* ii 19, 3 *gladiatoribus*, 'at a show of gladiators.'

26. *ἤδη τότε*, 'already at that time,' 'even then,' when there was not so much competition as later on in the time of Pericles.

27. *πίνακα τῆς νίκης*, 'a votive tablet recording his victory'; he set it up (*ἀνέθηκε*, c. 15, 2) in the temple of Dionysus.

29. *Φρόνιχος*, the famous tragic poet who gained his first victory in B.C. 511, and his last, the one here recorded, with the *Φοίνισσαι* in B.C. 477. *ἰδὼδασκεν*, *docerat*, because the author of the tragedy had also to train his own chorus and actors. Hence *τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος* came to signify 'a tragic poet,' *κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος*, 'a comic poet.' *ἤρχεν*, 'was chief (*ἐπώνυμος*) archon.'

§ 4. Notwithstanding his affectation of show, he knew how to win popular favour.

30. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ*, 'not but what' (c. 3, 2), returns to the subject broken off at l. 25. *ἐνῆρμότε*, *placebat*, 'adapted himself to,' not used as intransitive elsewhere by Plutarch. Cp. *Alex.* c. 52, 4 *αὐτὸν δαιμονίως ἐνῆρμωσε*. *τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ*, 'partly . . . partly,' 'as well . . . as,' cp. *τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ* c. 25, 2.

32. *ἀπὸ στόματος*, *memoriter*, 'by word of mouth' i.e. without writing, 'by memory,' without any *ὀνοματολόγος* or *nomenclator*. Cp. *Dem.* c. 7, 2 *τῶν Εὐριπίδου τινὰ ῥήσεων εἰπεῖν*

ἀπὸ στόματος, Plat. *Theaet.* p. 142 D οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία (ἔχω διηγήσασθαι), οὐκ οὐτως γὰρ ἀπὸ στόματος, Xen. *Mem.* III vi 9 οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμί σοι οὕτως γὰρ ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. Them. thus flattered the self-love of the people, cp. Cic. *or. p. Mur.* § 77 *nomine appellari abs te civis tuos honestum est.* κριτὴν, 'an arbitrator,' 'referee,' chosen by litigants in disputes about private affairs, such as breach of contract (συμβόλαιον). Nepos *Them.* c. 1, 3 *multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur.* ἀσφαλῆ, 'safe,' 'to be depended on.'

34. ὥς, consecutive for ὥστε. Σιμωνίδην: Simonides of Ceos, the celebrated lyric poet, was noted for his mercenary spirit (φιλαργυρία). See *Introduction* to my edition of Xen. *Hiero* p. xxxviii and n. to l. 7 above.

35. αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων, 'when he asked him to do something unreasonable,' 'to strain a point in his favour.' Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 1137 ἐμοῦ μέτρι' ἅττα καὶ δίκαι' αἰτούμενον.

The story recurs *Mor.* 807 C καίτοι γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην ἀξιούτῃ τι τῶν μὴ δίκαιων· οὐτε ποιητὴς ἔφη· σπουδαῖός ἐστιν ἔδωκεν παρά μέλος οὐτ' ἄρχων ἐπεικὴς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χαρίζομενος, 534 E ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἀξιούτῃ τι τῶν μὴ δίκαιων· οὐτ' ἂν σὺ ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς εἴης· ἔφη· παρά μέλος ἔδωκεν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ χρηστὸς ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον κρίνω.

37. ἔδωκεν (= εἰ ἔδοκεν) contains the protasis to ἂν γένοιτο. Cp. l. 38; c. 18, 3, and see G. § 226, 1. παρὰ μέλος = πλημμελῶς, 'out of tune' (ἐμμελῶς).

38. ἀστέιος is used in late Greek of anything 'proper' or 'good of its kind,' Lat. *probus, idoneus*, of things as well as of persons, as *Lyc.* c. 4, 5 ἀστέιον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδείξαι (with allusion to ἄστυ), *Mor.* 1043 B ὁμοίως τῆς τε αὐτοπραγίας καὶ ὀλιγοπραγμοσύνης ἀστέιων ὄντων, 620 C ἀστέιος οἶνος, Strabo IX c. 3, 8 ἐλλέβορον τὸν ἀστέιον, *Mor.* 12 F εἰς ποιητῶν ψυχὴν ἀστέιον λόγον ἐμβάλλειν, 29 B, E, 1038 B, 1046 C where it is opp. τὸ φαῦλον, 35 F ἀστέιον καὶ χρηστὸν, 562 B παίδευσιν ἀστέιαν, 822 B πρόφασιν ἀστέιαν καὶ καλὴν, 1060 D σπουδαῖός καὶ ἀστέιος νόμος, 672 E (Phoc. c. 29, 8) τοὺς ἀστέιους καὶ χαρίεντας ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ συνέχευε, 443 D ἔξισ ἀστέια, 778 A ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ καὶ ἀστέϊῳ, 779 B ναυπηγὸς ἀστέιος, 881 C τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εὐτυχεῖ, τὸ δ' ἀστέιον ταναττία πασχει, *Timol.* c. 3, 4 ἃ ἢ φύσις ἐξέφευγε ἀστέια, *Cal. ma.* c. 3, 2 ἡμέρον καὶ ἀστέιον ἦθος, *Demetr.* c. 32, 2 ταῦτα μὲν ἀστέια τοῦ Σελεύκου.

χαρίζομενος = εἰ χαρίζοιτο, 'if he favoured.'

40. Κορινθίους μὲν . . . τὴν δψιν, (paratactic) 'for his want of sense in getting (c. 31, 1) portraits of himself so often taken, though he was so ugly, while he cast a slur upon the Corinthians though they inhabited so great a city.' Observe that the clause introduced by μὲν is logically subordinate to though grammatically coordinate with, the clause with which it is contrasted. The contrast lies between αὐτοῦ ποιοῦμενον εἰκόνας and λοιδόρουντα, and μεγάλῃν οἰκούντας πόλιν and αἰσχροῦ ὄντος τὴν δψιν.

For the allusion, cp. *Dion* c. 1, 1 ὁ Σιμωνίδης φησὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις οὐκ ἠγνοῦν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι κάκεινοις οἱ περὶ

Γλαῦκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κορίνθιοι γεγονότες συνεμάχουν προθύμως, *Aristot. Rhet.* I 6 p. 1363<sup>a</sup> λελοιδωρῆσθαι ὑπέλαβον Κορίνθιοι ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου ποιήσαντος 'Κορίνθίους δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ 'Ιλιον.' 'Nothing is imputed to the Corinthians by Simonides except that the aid of Glaucus and his men of Corinthian race compensated the Trojans for their own hostility, and therefore that Troy had nothing to reproach them with.' The Schol. to Pindar *Ol.* XIII p. 78, who cites the line, has *μανίει* (ῖ), 'is wroth' for *μέμφεται*, and this reading also appears in Plutarch's *Dion.*

41. *εἰκόνας*, 'portrait-statues' or 'busts,' not 'paintings.' See Prof. Jebb to Theophr. p. 180, 11. For *ποιούμενον*, cp. *Alex.* c. 40, 4 *εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν*, *Demetr.* c. 41, 4 *χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιημένους ἐμβάδας*.

42. *αἰξόμενος* i.q. *αὐξανόμενος*, 'growing in credit,' in reference to the statement at the commencement of this section.

43. *τέλος*, adv. 'finally.'

*κατεστασίασε*, 'he overpowered (him) in party strife.'

The verb *καταστασιάζειν* (*κατά, στάσις*) is a favourite one with Plutarch for 'to overpower by forming a counter party,' cp. *Per.* c. 9, 3, *Mar.* c. 28, 5 *κατεστασίαζε τὸν Μετέλλον*, *Sertor.* c. 4, 3 *δημαρχίαν μετῶν* (being a candidate for the tribuneship) *Σύλλα καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐξέτερε*, *Caes.* c. 14, 9 *καταστασιάζει Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου*, *Cat. mi.* c. 29, 3 *Γαίον Μερμίου καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*, *Uic.* c. 45, 3 *τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξέκρουσε* (*Cicero*) *καὶ κατεστασίασε*, *Diod.* XIX c. 36 *κατεστασίασαν ἀπὸντα τὸν βασιλέα*, *Phlip.* c. 15, 6 *τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταστασιάζοντάς ὠνεῖσθαι*, c. 18, 5 *συγκατεστασίασε τὴν πόλιν*, and in the pass. below c. 11, 1, *Comp. Arist.* c. *Cat. ma.* c. 2, 3 *ἐξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους*, *Comp. Sull.* c. *Lys.* c. 5, 1 *κατεστασιασμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχθῶν*, *Thest.* c. 35, 3 *ἐπιχειρῶν βιάεσθαι κατεδημαγωγεῖτο καὶ κατεστασιάζετο*, *Brut.* c. 22, 2 *Ἀντώνιον κατεστασίασε*, *Dem. Leoch.* § 3 *μὴ περιδεῖν πένητας ἀνθρώπους... καταστασιασθέντας ὑπὸ παρατάξεως ἀδίκου*, *Diod.* XIII 63 *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατεστασιάζεσθαι*.

44. *μετέστησεν*, 'caused him to retire.' This was the technical term for temporary removal by ostracism; *ἐκβάλλειν* and its passive *ἐκπίπτειν* were applied to *φυγή*. Cp. *Arist.* c. 7, 4 *δοτρακὸν λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας δν ἐβούλετο μεταστήσῃαι τὸν πολιτῶν*, *Nic.* c. 11, 1 *ἕνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ πλοῦτον ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ δοτράκῳ μεριστὰς εἰς δέκα ἔτη*, below c. 11, 1 *τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον μεθεστῶσιν*, *Arist.* c. 8, 1 *ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον*. This event happened acc. to Plutarch (*Arist.* c. 8, 1) in B.C. 482, acc. to Corn. Nepos (*Arist.* c. 5) in B.C. 485; we should probably take the mean 484 or 483. His sentence was for ten years, but he returned much earlier. *ἐξοστρακισθέντα*, *ostracismo electum* (*ἐκ, δοτρακόν*). See c. 22, 2, *Arist.* c. 7, *Her.* VIII 79, *Plat. Gorg.* p. 516 D; also *Dict. of Antiq.* vol. i p. 818 a, ed. 3.



## CHAPTER VI

§ 11. 1. τοῦ Μήδου (not here collective 'the Medians' but) 'the Persian king,' Xerxes, as representing his people. Cp. Thuc. I 69, 5, III 10, 4. So ὁ Ἰνδός, 'the king of India,' Xen. Cyr. III ii 27. καταβαίνοντος, because he was coming from Upper Asia. On the contrary, the expeditions of Cyrus and of Alexander the Great were ἀναβάσεις.

3. στρατηγού: on the appointment of the ten strategoi consult Marchant's *Introd.* to Thucydides II p. lxx ff. ἐκστῆναι, 'stood aloof from' i.e. declined to be candidates for. Cat. mī. c. 41, 2 πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μετέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τότε παρασκευαζομένων . . . μόνον Δεύκιον Δομῆτιον . . . ἔπεισε μὴ ἐκστῆναι μηδ' ὀφείσθαι.

4. ἐκπεληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, 'because they were dismayed at the risk'; c. 7, 3; c. 13, 2.

6. δεινὸν εἰπεῖν, 'an able speaker.' The more familiar phrase is δεινὸς λέγειν. See my n. to Dem. c. 3, 1.

7. τῇ ψυχῇ: cp. c. 2, 1 τῇ φύσει συνετός, c. 16, 2 Ἀρνάκην ὀνόματι, Per. c. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ. χρημάτων ἥττονα, 'unable to resist bribes,' 'venal' (χρημάτων κρείττων Per. c. 15, 2. Cp. Xen. Mem. I v 1 ἥττω γαστρός ἢ οἶνου, Plato Protag. p. 353 c ἥττω τῶν ἡδονῶν.

8. κρατήσαν ἐπιδόξον εἶναι, 'that he was expected, likely, to be successful.' The personal for the impersonal construction.

The word ἐπιδόξος is used either of persons or of things, most frequently with the fut. infin. Thes. c. 19, 2 ἐπιδόξος ὧν ἀπαντας πάλιν νικήσειν ὁ Ταῦρος ἐφθονεῖτο, Num. c. 5, 1 ἐπιδόξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος αἰρήσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα, Publ. c. 1, 4 μέχρι μὲν ἐπιδόξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἐνα χειροτονήσειν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγόν, Cat. ma. c. 17, 7 ὑπατεύσειν ἐπιδόξον ὄντα, Pyrrh. c. 13, 3 τοῦτο ποιήσειν ἐπιδόξος ἦν, Ages. c. 25, 3 εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν ἐπιδόξος ἀνὴρ εἶσεσθαι σπουδαίος, Brul. c. 4, 1 ἐπιδόξος ἦν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Καίσαρος, c. 14, 1 Βουλῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐπιδόξος ἦν ἀφίξεσθαι Καίσαρ, C. Gracch. c. 11, 2 ἐπιδόξος ἦν ὑπατεύσειν, Luc. c. 5, 2 ἐπιδόξος ὦν . . . αἰρεθήσεσθαι στρατηγός, Sull. c. 6, 5, c. 34, 4, Galb. c. 21, 2, Mor. p. 674 v, p. 806 A, p. 968 x, Herod. vi 12 πολλοὶ ἐπιδόξοι τῶντὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσι, Isocr. or. c. Loch. § 12 τοὺς ἐπιδόξους γενήσεσθαι ποιητρούς, Ateop. § 47 τοὺς ἐπιδόξους ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, Ep. iv § 6 τῶν ἐπιδόξων διασφαρήσεσθαι πραγμάτων. It is used without infinitive, which is however implied, in Arat. c. 50, 2 οὐδὲν ἀντίπερ καίπερ ἐπιδόξος ὦν (sc. ἀντερεῖν) ὑπ' ὀργῆς, and with aor. infin. Mor. 780 A, Herod. I 89, Isocr. Archid. § 8 ἐπιδόξος ὦν τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, i.e. being heir-presumptive to this dignity (the Spartan kingship), Aesch. c. Ctes. § 165 αὕτη (ἡ πόλις) καθ' ἐκαστὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιδόξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, Lyc. c. Leocr. § 9 ἐπιδόξον γενέσθαι (but γενήσεσθαι Valek. Nicolai), Appian bell. civ. I 32, 46 Μεμνῆται ἐπιδόξοτέρου ὄντος τυχεῖν, Aristot. Rhét. ad Alex. 30, p. 1437 a, 14 ἀν ἐπιδόξος ἡ κρίσις ἢ γενέσθαι; and lastly with the present infin. Antiph. tetral. I 1 § 5 τὸν μέγαλα μὲν κακὰ προπεπονθότα, ἐπὶ δὲ μέλιστα ἐπιδόξον ὄντα πάσχειν, I 4 § 9 ἐπιδόξος ἡ δυσπραγία μεταβάλλειν

αὐτῶν ἰστί, Arist. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 19 p. 1433<sup>a</sup>, 32, 36; 37 p. 1443<sup>a</sup>, 7, 40 τὰ ἐπίδοξα λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰναντίων. In one or two instances we find the future partic. as *Agis* c. 13, 4 Αἰτωλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπίδοξοι . . . ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, and in *Pyrrh.* c. 13, 3 (quoted above) the MSS have ποιήσαν, though edd. adopt ποιήσιν after Stephanus.

9. τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, 'in the voting,' lit. 'show of hands.' The crier's invitation to the voters was ἀράτω τὰς χεῖρας ὅτῳ ταῦτα δοκεῖ. ὅν, continuative.

10. τὰ πράγματα, 'the whole business.'

12. χρήμασι is the dat. of means instead of χρημάτων the gen. of price. Cp. *Dem.* c. 13, 2, Aristot. *Pol.* p. 1315<sup>a</sup>, 24 τὰς ἀτιμίας ἐξωνεῖσθαι μελίσσι τιμαῖς, *Lys. or.* 24 § 17 οἱ πλούσιοι τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξωνοῦνται τοὺς κινδύνους with [Arist.] *Oecon.* p. 1352<sup>a</sup>, 13 χρημάτων ἐξωνοῦντο τοὺς συνειλημμένους. For the reference, see cp. *Nic. c. Cr.* c. 3, 3 καίτοι δ' γε Θεμοστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαῖλος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἄφρων στρατηγῆσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτόν. τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐξωνήσασθαι, 'bought off (bribed him to forego) his ambitious projects.'

§ 21. 14. τὸ περὶ τὸν δῖγλωττον ἔργον, 'his treatment of the 10 man who spoke two languages, being one of those who were sent by the King to ask earth and water.' Herodotus VII 32 says that Xerxes οὐτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὐτε ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν, and in c. 133 he tells the reason why; so that Plutarch's story is the invention due to the vanity of a later age and is opposed to historical truth. The γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἰτησίς was tantamount to a demand for complete surrender of their people, land and cities.

16. ἑρμηνέα ὄντα, 'who was an interpreter.' Aristides I p. 122 ed. Jebb adds the reason: ὥς οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς διακονῆσαι προσήκον τοῖς βαρβάροις. συλλαβὸν . . . ἀπέκτεινεν, he had him arrested (in virtue of his authority as στρατηγός) and procured a decree (ψήφισμα) of the ecclesia to put him to death.

18. χρῆσαι (= δανείσαι, not, as Fuhr, δανείσασθαι), *commo-dare, ulendium dare*, 'to lend,' 'put at the service of,' from κίρημι (not, as Koraës, μολῶναι, κατασχῶναι, as if from χράω = χραίνω). Cp. *Plut. Dion* c. 22, 2 χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα Σικελιώταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον, *Pomp.* c. 24, 1 ἡ δύναμις (corpiæ) χρῆσασα ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἑαυτήν, *Philop.* c. 13, 2 χρῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχολὴν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ δεηθεῖαι τοῖς Ὀρτυνίοις.

19. τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον sc. ἐπαινεῖται. The infamy with which Arthmius of Zelea (a town in the Troad, mentioned by Homer *Il.* IV 103 and II 824 as the home of Pandarus), one of

the agents sent by Mardonius to scatter Persian gold and promises in Peloponnesus (Herod. ix 2), was branded (στηλίτης) is frequently spoken of in terms of praise by the orators; Dem. Phil. 3 § 41 *τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα* (the inscription); "Ἀρθμιος" φησὶν 'ὁ Πυθώνακτος, ὁ Ζελεΐτης, ἄτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.' εἰθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. 'ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν,' *de f. l.* § 308, Aesch. *in Otes.* § 258, Dinarch. *in Aristog.* § 24 *μόνω τούτῳ* (τῷ Ἀρθμίῳ) *προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ὁ δῆμος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.* Plutarch is the only writer who states that it was Themistocles who moved (εἶπε) the resolution.

20. *καὶ τούτων*, 'him also,' as the interpreter before him was punished. Arthmius could not be made *ἄτιμος* in the ordinary sense of forfeiting the franchise, because he was not an Athenian, but as Demosthenes says, *δοῦλος βασιλέως, ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐα ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας*, though we are told by Aeschines *l.c.* that he was an Athenian *πρόξενος*. The sentence against him and his family was one of outlawry, so that *καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι*. The omission of the article before *γένος* in this formula is not exceptional, but regular and may be classed under the head of enumeration. *εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐνέγραψαν*, 'entered on the list of persons disfranchised.'

21. *τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν . . . ἐκόμισε* for *τὸν Μ. χ. ἐκ Μήδων* ἐκόμισε by a very common attraction of the attribute to the predicate.

So Xen. *Anab.* i ii 18 οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἐφευγον, Dem. Ol. i § 15 τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο ἦξοντα for τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἦξοντα ἐκείθεν δεῦρο, Theophr. *Char.* ii 4 ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης for ἄρας τι τῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἀπὸ τῆς τρ., Plato *Phaed.* § 134 οἱ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰχθύες ἀνακύπτοντες, Dem. Ol. i § 17 55' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, Isaeus *or.* 16 § 17 τοὺς ἐκ Δακελείας μετεπέμψαντο.

22. *μέγιστον δὲ πάντων* (*sc. αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*), 'is his greatest achievement of all,' the subject being the clause *τὸ καταλύσαι τοὺς Ἑ. π.* As to the statement, cp. Herod. vii 145 who says that the greatest of these wars was that between Athens and Aegina; he does not however name either Themistocles or Cheileōs in connexion with the termination of the feud, which was, he says, brought about by the Panhellenic congress at the Isthmus of Corinth. Aristides *or. de IV viris* p. 220 ed. Jebb agrees with Plut. *πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ἦκειν τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰς τε πόλεις διήλλαξε καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πολίταις ἀνῆκε τὰ ἐγκλήματα.*

26. *ἀναβαλέσθαι*, 'to defer.'

27. *πρὸς δ*, 'towards which object.' Cheileōs, an Arcadian of Tegea, by his judicious advice in B.C. 479 induced the

Spartans to march to Plataea, Herod. ix 9, [Plutarch] *de Herod. mal.* c. 41, Polyaeus *Strat.* v 30, who, like Herodotus, gives him the name of Chileōs.

## CHAPTER VII

§ 1 l. 3. *ἔπειθεν*, 'tried to persuade.'

4. *ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 'as far as possible from Hellas.'

5. *τῷ βαρβάρῳ*, not collective, see c. 6, 1. *ἐνωσταμένων* : c. 3, 2.

6. *εἰς τὰ Τέμπε, ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἣ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ Οὐλύμου τε οὖρεος βέοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης* Herod. vii 173.

7. *ὡς* : c. 4, 3.

8. *αὐτοῖσι* = *αὐτοῦ, ἰδί.* *προκινδυνεύσόντων* *sc. αὐτῶν* i.e. the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

9. *οὐτω τότε μηδίζειν δοκούσης*, 'which was not yet believed at the time to be medising' i.e. to have declared in favour of the Medes.

10. *ἐπεὶ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπρακτοί*, 'after they had returned (to the Isthmus) without accomplishing their object.'

It does not seem to have occurred to them that the position at Tempe would be useless as a place of defence, and that an expedition to Thessaly would answer no purpose, unless it was made with the intention of giving the enemy battle in the Thessalian plain—a field much more favourable to the invading army than to the weaker force. A body of 10,000 men was sent to take possession of Tempe. While they were encamped there, they received a message from Alexander, King of Macedon, exhorting them to withdraw and not to wait until they were trampled under foot by the invading host. At the same time they discovered that Thessaly lay open to the passers over the Cambunian Range, and that the enemy would be able to hem them in on every side.—THIRLWALL *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii p. 305-6 ed. ma.

*Θεσσαλῶν βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων* : Her. vii 174 *Θεσσαλοὶ δέ, ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων, οὕτω δὴ ἐμῆδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.* It was the Thessalian nobles of the house of the Aleuads—perhaps, as Athenaeus (xiv 83) suggests, captivated by the Persian luxury and splendour, which were peculiarly congenial to their habits—who first invited Xerxes to the conquest of Greece.

The article is generally, but not always, omitted when the Persian King is meant. It is used in c. 23, 2 ; c. 26, 1 ; c. 28, 1 ; c. 29, 3.

11 13. *προσείχον*, 'were for listening to.' See n. to *Dem.* c. 20, 4.

14. *καί*, 'and so.' *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον*, c. 8, 2. Artemisium, a long beach (*αἰγιαλός*), was capable of receiving the galleys, if it should be necessary to draw them up on the shore, and commanded a view of the open sea and the coast of Magnesia and consequently an opportunity of watching the enemy's movements, as he advanced towards the south. Herod. vii 176 gives the following description of it:—*ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται* ('there is a narrowing') *ἐς στενὸν πόνρον, τὸν μεταξὺ ἔοντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοῆς ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός*.

15. *τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων*, 'for the purpose of guarding the straits.'

§ 2 l. 15. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, all except the Athenians, c. 20, 2. Herodotus (viii 2) puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistocles in connexion with it at all. Plutarch has perhaps been misled by a desire to give his hero the credit of the transaction.

16. *Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους*, the whole subjoined to the part, as in Thuc. i 116, 3 *ἔχωτο ἐπὶ Κανόνος καὶ Καρίας*, iii 83, 1 *τῷ Πάγγρῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, Arist. *Plut.* 895 *ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοί*. Similarly in Latin Hor. *Sat.* ii 7, 86 *Mulvius et scurras*, Liv. 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos*.

17. *ὅτι πλήθει κτλ.* : on the grounds of their pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus (viii 1) the Athenians had manned 127 galleys themselves, and supplied the Chalcidians with 20 others; the Lacedaemonians sent only 10 : the whole fleet consisted of 271 triremes.

18. *ὁμοῦ τι*, *propetodum*, 'almost,' with *σύμπαντας*. Cp. *Sull.* c. 11, 3, *Nic.* c. 16, 3, *Cic.* c. 26, 3.

19. *οὐκ ἀξιούντων*, 'disdaining,' after the analogy of *οὐ φάναι*, *οὐκ ἔαν*. Cp. c. 11, 3, Thuc. i 102, 4 *δεινὸν ποιήσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τούτο παθεῖν*.

20. *ἔπισθαι = πείσθαι*. *συνιδὼν*, 'taking in at a glance,' grasping the situation : cp. c. 8, 2; c. 14, 2, *Sol.* c. 25, 2, *Cim.* c. 16, 6 *συνιδὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον*, *Dion.* c. 15, 1, *Num.* c. 20, 8, *Brut.* c. 42, 1, *Ages.* c. 5, 4, Polyb. i 28, 7, Acts xii 12, *Dem. Ol.* i 28. The word is not found in Thuc., and only thrice in Xen.

22. *παρήκε (παρίεναι)*, 'ceded,' 'resigned.'

23. *ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνωνται*, 'should they behave like brave men.'

25. *παρέξειν . . . πειθομένους*, 'that he would guarantee their

submission.' For *παρέχειν*, with predic. added, meaning *reddere, facere*, 'to make so and so,' see the exx. in my lex. to Xen. *Oec.* p. 117 a. Them. prophesied truly, for three years afterwards B.C. 477 the Athenians *παρέλαβον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πausanίου μῖσος*, Thuc. I 96, 1.

28. *ἐς δόξαν ὡς . . . περιγενομένους*, 'to the credit of being superior to.' They were *ἀνδρείωτεροι* than their enemies, *εὐγνώμονεστεροι*, 'more sensible,' 'showed more prudence' than their allies. This was a favourite topic with Athenian orators.

Cp. Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* § 70 *μόνοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρων περιγεγόνασι, καὶ τῶν πολέμιων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκε, τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ μαχόμενοι νικῶντες*, and Ael. Aristides *Panath.* 217 p. 39 *ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς νίκας ἀνέλκοντο σαφέστατα ἀνθρώπων οἱ τότε . . . τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς τοῖς ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοὺς φίλους ἐνίκησαν*—both of which passages are adapted from Isocr. *Paneg.* § 71 *μεγίστου γὰρ πολέμου συστάτος ἐκείνου . . . καὶ τῶν μὲν πολέμιων ἀνυποστάτων οἰομένων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἀνυπέρβλητον ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες, ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκε*.

§ 3 l. 31. *ταῖς Ἀφεταιῖς . . . προσμείξαντος*, 'when it had come up to Aphetae.' *Flamin.* c. 16, 1 *προσέμειξε τῇ Χαλκίδι*, *Alex.* c. 11, 4 *προσμείξας ταῖς Θήβαις*, *Phoc.* c. 13, 2 *τῷ χάρακι (castris) προσμείξαντες* etc., Thuc. I 46, 3 *ἐπειδὴ προσέμειξαν τῇ κατὰ Κερκύραν ἡπείρῳ*, VII c. 41, 3; c. 70, 2. Sometimes Plutarch adds *ἐαυτόν*. Aphetae was a port of the peninsula of Magnesia at the mouth of the gulf of Pagasae opposite Artemisium. Cp. Herod. VIII 6, 7, and for the origin of the name, VII 193.

32. *ἐκπλαγεῖς . . . τὸ πλῆθος*: c. 13, 2.

33. *στόμα*, 'front,' = τὸ ἐμπροσθεν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ *Suidas*. Cp. Herod. VIII 11 *κατὰ στόμα* ('front to front') *ἔργον εἰχοντο*. *ἄλλας . . . διακοσίας*, 'two hundred more sail,' Herod. VIII 7.

34. *πυνθανόμενος . . . περιπλεῖν*: G. *MT.* § 914, l. *ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου* (*ἐξωθεν Σκιάθου* Herod. *l.c.*), 'beyond the coast of Sciathos,' which was an island off Magnesia N.E. of Euboea. This squadron was detached to sail round Euboea and up the strait from the south, so as to take the Greeks in the rear.

35. *τὴν ταχίστην* sc. *ὁδόν*, HA. § 622, § 719 a.

36. *εἰσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 'into the interior of Hellas,' c. 9, 1, Herod. VIII 4 *δρημόν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. *ἄψασθαι*, 'to reach.' The Greeks abandoned their station at Artemisium, but after the storm at Cape Sepias, which dispersed the barbarian fleet, they returned thither from Chalcis, where in their dismay they had taken shelter. They arrived in time to capture fifteen Persian ships which had been detained at Sepias after the departure of the main body.

38. *προσπεριβαλέσθαι*, 'to surround, as with an additional (πρός) protection.' The word is used again *Mor.* 831 A.

- 12 40. *μὴ σφᾶς πρόνται* (*προίεναι*), 'lest they should leave them to their fate,' c. 9, 3; *Thuc.* I c. 36, 3; c. 120, 2.

42. *Πελάγοντα*: no name is given by Herodotus (VIII 4) for this and other particulars. Plutarch probably borrowed his account from Phanias of Lesbos, concerning whom see below l. 59 and *Introduction*. *χρημάτων*: the enormous sum of 30 talents, according to Herodotus.

43. *ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορήκει*: Plutarch misrepresents Herod., who says (VIII 5) that Them. gave Eurybiades 5 talents, Adeimantus the Corinthian 3, and kept the remaining 22 himself (*αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμ. ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων*).

44. *τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην*, a periphrasis for Eurybiades himself (see my n. to *Timol.* c. 13, 2), though it might also include Adeimantus.

§ 4 l. 46. *τῆς ἱερᾶς νεῆς*, one of the two sacred vessels, *Paralus* and *Salaminia*, which were used for all state purposes—except the *Delian* and other theories—for embassies, despatches etc. from Athens, for the transporting of money and persons, fetching state-criminals etc. The trierarch of these vessels, being only a representative of the state, had not to provide for the equipment of his ship nor for the pay of the crew. These expenses were supplied by the public treasurer (*ταμίης*) at the cost of the state (*Aristot.* *Ἀθην. πολιτεία* c. 61), though they passed through the trierarch's hands.

48. *χορηγεῖν*, *suppeditare*, c. 5, 1.

49. *ἔτι μᾶλλον*, 'still more' than before; the crew were already angry with him, because they had not received their pay. Themistocles suspected that he was in possession of money, and that he wished to return lest he should lose it.

52. *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, 'thereat,' c. 21, 3; c. 24, 3.

54. *δεῖπνον κρεῶν*, gen. of material; cp. c. 8, 2 l. 24. *τάλαντον* was not a coin, only a sum of money, value about £235.

56. *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, 'at daybreak' i.e. next day, because *δείπνον* was the evening meal.

57. *εἰ δὲ μή* sc. *ἐπιμεληθείη*, 'otherwise' i.e. if he did not attend to them. *καταβόησεν αὐτοῦ* sc. *ἐφ' ἧ*, 'that he would raise an outcry against him,' c. 23, 3.

58. *τοὺς παρόντας*, who would find the money (*τάλαντον ἀργυρίου*) in his possession.

59. **Φανίας**: Phanias of Eresos in Lesbos was the most distinguished disciple of Aristotle after Theophrastus, whose friend, fellow-citizen and contemporary he was: and a most diligent writer on logic, physics, history and literature. In c. 13, 2 he is spoken of by Plutarch as ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν. His Πρυτάνεις Ἑρέσιοι, or chronicles of his native city, was probably a chronicle of the history of Greece, arranged under the several years, which were distinguished by the name of the *Prytaneis eponymoi* of Eresos. He also wrote a history of the τύραννοι, quoted more than once by Athenaeus. For μὲν οὖν, see c. 2, 4.

## CHAPTER VIII

§ 11. 1. αἱ . . . μάχαι, the battles at Artemisium described by Herod. VIII 6 ff.

2. τὰ στενά, 'the straits' of the island of Euboea, of which Artemisium is a promontory, c. 7, 1 note.

3. κρίσιν μὲν μεγάλην, 'though they did not produce a decisive result.' Cp. Thuc. I 23, 1 ταχέαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε, Polyb. 16, 4, 8 ῥαδίαν ἔλαβε κρίσιν ἢ ναυμαχία. εἰς τὰ ὅλα, ad rem summam, 'for their vital interests.'

4. τῇ πείρᾳ μέγιστα . . . ὤνησαν, 'were of the greatest service because of the experience they gave them'; the causal participle διδάχθέντας takes up and explains τῇ πείρᾳ.

5. ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων . . . διδάχθέντας, taught by practical experience in earnest fighting, in opposition to λόγοι. Cp. Thuc. I 18, 3 ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι — a passage referred to by Plutarch himself, Dem. c. 6, 1. παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους, inter ipsa discrimina, 'at the moment of danger.'

Cp. Alex. c. 82, 2 παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον, Caes. c. 39, 4 παρὰ τὸ δεινὸν (in ipso periculo), Ant. c. 63, 3 παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, Timol. c. 27, 5 παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα (in certamine), Marc. c. 25, 3 παρὰ τὸ ἔργον, Arist. c. 3, 3 παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολάς, Flam. c. 7, 4 παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, Mar. c. 11, 8, Nic. c. 25, 2 παρὰ τὰς μάχας, Arat. c. 29, 6 παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, Pyrrh. c. 80, 4 παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, Aesch. Ctes. § 170, Xen. de reeq. c. 9, 11 δὲ παρὰ κραυγὴν (in clamore) καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μὴτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένουν τῷ ἱππῳ. Dem. Mid. § 59 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δεικνύματα, de cor. § 15 τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους. Cp. also the adv. παραχρῆμα.

7. ἐπίσημων, 'figure-heads' carved or painted on the bows 13 of a ship and imitating the person or object after which the vessel was named. Artemisia's vessel at the battle of Salamis was known by its ἐπίσημον (Herod. VIII 88). The word παρὰ-



σημον has the same meaning. For the sentiment, cp. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 382

κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὕτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ,  
οὐδ' ἔλκοιπα γίγνεται τὰ σήματα.

8. *παιᾶνες*, 'war-songs.' Cp. Schol. Thuc. I 50 δύο παιᾶνας ἦδον οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου Ἄρει, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

9. εἰς χεῖρας λέναι, *manus conserere*, 'to come to close quarters.'

12. διαγωνίζεσθαι, 'to fight it out,' 'to fight desperately,' Thuc. v 10, 3. For the meaning of διὰ, see n. to c. 5, 2. συμπλακέντας, 'in close grapple,' met. from the palaestra.

Cp. *Per. c.* 11, 1, *Eum. c.* 7, 1, *Demetr. c.* 48, 1; *c.* 49, 1 θηρίῳ δεινῶ συμπλέκται, *Marcell. c.* 29, 7 συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς ἀφίσταμένοις, *Aem. Paul. c.* 20, 4, *Anon. c.* 42, 2, *Flamin. c.* 4, 4, *Pelop. c.* 11, 5; *c.* 15, 1, *Pomp. c.* 17, 1, *Alex. c.* 16, 3, *Pyrrh. c.* 30, 4, *Dem. Phil. III § 51* οὐ δεῖ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι, *Polyb. I 28, 2* συνεπλέκοντο καὶ διηγωνίζοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, *IV 58, 6* ἡμύνοντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενναίως, *XVI 33, 3*, *Lucian Conv. 44* ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες. It is followed by the acc. with πρὸς also in *Fab. c.* 25, 2, *Cleom. c.* 20, 1 συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συνησχημένην.

§ 2 l. 13. δ δὴ συνιδὼν κτλ.: the order is δ δὴ συνιδὼν Πίνδαρος ἔοικεν οὐ κακῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς . . . μάχης, 'Pindar must surely have had this in view, when he expressed himself so well on the subject of the battle at Artemisium,' in reference to τῇ πείρᾳ μέγιστα ὦνησαν. Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ὦν συμμάχου πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μηδίζων αἰτίαν ἐχούσης [Plut.] *de malign. Herod. c.* 34. οὐ κακῶς is a litotes for εὖ or καλῶς. For ἐπὶ = *super*, 'of,' 'concerning,' after verbs of judging, proving and saying, cp. *c.* 22, 2, *Xen. Mem. III ix 3* ὁρῶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ φύσει διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, *II iii 2* ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδεελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι. It is frequently so used in Aristotle.

15. οἅ for οὗ, 'where': so αὐτόθι for αὐτοῦ. παῖδες Ἀθαίων, like Homer's υἱες Ἀχαιῶν and Herodotus's παῖδες Ἀχαιῶν (I 27). ἐβάλλοντο φαεινὰν κρηπιδ' ἐλευθερίας, 'laid the shining groundwork of freedom.' Cp. Pindar *Pyth. IV 138* βάλλετο κρηπιδὰ σοφῶν ἐπέων, *VII 3* κρηπιδ' αἰδοῦν ἱπποῖσι βαλέσθαι. So *Xen. Mem. I v 4* calls ἐγκράτεια ἀρετῆς κρηπίς. The passage is again cited by Plutarch *Mor. 552 B*, 867 c, and 350 A; also by Aristides *or. Plat. II p.* 188.

17. ὧτως, 'really,' in reference to the quotation, as in *Nic. c.* 17, 4.

18. τῆς Εὐβοίας, the chorographic or partitive genitive denoting a country or place with the name of a single town or point in it. See the description by Herod. quoted above *c.* 7 l. 14.

ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑστιάειαν, i.e. farther from the mainland of Hellas and nearer the Aegean Sea, c. 7, 3.

Hestiaeae in Euboea—to be distinguished from Hestiaeae in Acarnania—was settled fourteen years earlier than Aegina in B.C. 445. The colony probably received its new name Oreus (Thuc. viii 95, 7) from the adjoining place, when the Athenians took possession of the land (Ἑστιάειας ἐξοικισάντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον, Thuc. i 114, 8). Still the old name was retained in public documents and on coins in the time of the geographers Pausanias (vii 26, 2 [4]) and Strabo (x c. 1, 3 p. 445).

19. ἀναπεπταμένος (ἀναπετάνυσθαι), 'lying open to,' 'facing.'

Cp. *Tab. Max.* c. 6 αὐλὼν ἀναπέπταται πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, *Erot.* c. 6 τῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης διατριβῆς, *Xen. Hell.* iv i 15 θῆραι αἱ μὲν ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, *Oec.* c. 9, 4 ἐπέδειξε τὴν οἰκίαν ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται. See c. 21, 3 for another of its meanings.

20. ἀνταίρει, *contra assurgit*, 'rises over against,' or 'in the same parallel with': cp. *Aem. Paul.* c. 6 τῶν Ἀλπεῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Διθύην ἀνταίρωντα. τῆς χώρας, as above l. 18. Olizon (the 'lesser town,' from ὀλιγ-ίων, as μέλιων from μεγ-ίων) was in Magnesia; it is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ii 717 of Μελίσσοιαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζίωνα τρηχεῖαν) as being part of the dominions of Philoctetes. μάλιστα, 'about,' 'pretty near.'

22. ἐπικλήσιν, 'by surname,' adverbial acc., G. § 160, 1. Προσηφας, 'facing the East,' from the position of her temple, cp. *Mor.* p. 867 f.

23. πέφυκε, 'have been planted,' 'grow.' Hence Simonides 137 (Bergk) ἀγρᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος. στήλαι κτλ., 'upright slabs of white marble are set in a circle.' For λίθου, gen. of material, cp. c. 7, 4.

25. χροάν . . . κροκίζουσιν ἀναδιδωσιν, 'yields a saffron-like colour.' Thuc. iii 88, 3 τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνὸν (of the island Hiera).

§ 3 l. 26. Δεγείειν ἦν τῷδε, 'there was an inscription as follows.' It is attributed to Simonides (*fr.* 192) by Schneidewin. Bergk reads ἀνέθεν for ἐθεσαν. The lines are quoted also *de mal. Her.* c. 34, *Mor.* p. 867 e. See T. Preger *Insc. gr. metr. Prol.* § 12 and p. 85.

32. τῆς ἀκτῆς: see n. to l. 18.

34. τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς: the omission of the article before νεκρούς is due to the stereotyped nature of the expression. Cp. Thuc. i 54, 2 ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς.

35. δοκοῦσι, c. 2, 6; c. 5, 3; c. 10, 1.

## CHAPTER IX

§ 1 l. 1. τῶν . . . ἀπαγγελλόντων : the news was brought by the Athenian Habronichus (Herod. VIII 21), who two years later went on the mission about the walls to Sparta with Aristides and Themistocles (Thuc. I 91, 3).

3. κείσθαι, 'had fallen in battle,' Hom. *Il.* XVIII 20.

4. εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος, c. 7, 2.

5. ἐπὶ πᾶσι, 'behind,' 'in the rear of all.' Herod. VIII 21 ἐκομίζοντο ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

6. μέγα τοῖς π. φρονούντων, 'being proud because of their achievements.' Φροεῖν ἐπὶ τινι is the more usual expression.

7. παραπλέων, 'as he coasted,' Herod. VIII 22.

8. κατάρσεις, *arripsus*, 'landing-places' (καταρῖν c. 20, 1). Cp. *Pomp.* c. 65, 4 κατέλαβε . . . ναύλοχα καὶ κατάρσεις ἐπιφόρους τοῖς ἐπιφοιτῶσι διὰ θαλάττης, *Mor.* 162 A ἐκπέμψαι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιώτας τὰς κατάρσεις παραφυλάζοντας, Thuc. IV 26, 7 οἱ ὀπλίται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσον.

9. ἀναγκαίως, for getting water and provisions.

10. κατὰ τῶν λίθων, 'on (lit. down from top of) the stones' ; the article anticipates the explanation given by τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. The inscription acc. to Herodotus (VIII 22) was as follows:—*Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλοῦμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο μὴ δύνατον ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέγιστος κατέβηκε ἡ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἑπεὶν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἐχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.*

11. ἐπιφανὴ γράμματα, 'a conspicuous inscription.'

12. ἀπὸ τύχης, *forte fortuna* ; cp. *Timol.* c. 10, 6.

13. ὕδρεις, 'watering-places.' The word means properly *aquatio*, 'fetching water,' as in *Sert.* c. 13, 3 τὰς ὕδρεις ἀπέκοπτε, Thuc. VII 13, 2 τῶν ναυτῶν διὰ φρυγανισμὸν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν καὶ ὕδρειαν μακρὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολλυμένων. ἐπισκῆπτων, a strong expression, 'conjuring,' 'solemnly enjoining.'

14. οἷόν τε sc. ἐστὶ, c. 16, 2. μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, 'to change their places and come over to them.'

15. **πατέρας ὄντας**, 'as being the authors of their race.' The Athenians were regarded as the parent stock of all Ionians.

16. **τὸ βαρβαρικόν** = τοὺς βαρβάρους, the neuter adj. in collective sense; cp. Thuc. VII 43, 7 with my note *ad loc.* Herodotus (VIII 22) has **ἐθελokaκέετε**, 'fight backwardly,' 'play the coward on purpose.'

19. **ὑποπτοτέρους**, 'suspicious.' Herodotus (VIII 22) ascribes two motives to Them. **ἵνα ἡ λαβόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἥ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀνεειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ.** The result, as recorded by the historian (c. 85), was that **ἐθελokaκέον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὁλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλείους οὐ.**

§ 2 l. 20. **ἄνωθεν**, crossing that part of the Oetaean chain which separates the vale of the Sperchius from the valley of Doris.

21. **τὰ τῶν Φωκίων ἄστυ πυρπολοῦντος**: the Phocians refused to medise; and when the Thessalians sent to them to demand a bribe of fifty talents, as the price at which they would consent to avert the destruction impending over them, they turned a deaf ear to them. Herod. VIII 32 **οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα . . . ὅκoσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.**

23. **προσήμυναν**, *opem tulerunt*.

The verb **προσαμύνειν** is found several times in Homer, but not in classical prose writers. Plutarch uses it often, *Sertor.* c. 18, **ὁ παρὼν ἔγγυς οὐ προσήμυνεν**, *Cor.* c. 39, **4 διέφθειραν αὐτὸν καὶ προσήμυνεν οὐδείς τῶν παρόντων**, *Cał. mł.* c. 44, **4 κινδυνεύοντα στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ μὴ προσαμύναντας**; also with the dative as *Rom.* c. 25, **2 πολέμου- μένοις οὐ προσαμύναντες**, *Cał. mł.* c. 31, **1 Λευκόλλω Κάτωνος ἀδικουμένην προσαμύνοντος**, *Μοτ.* 724 **Β ἀνθρώποις προσαμύνων ἀγωνιζομένοις.**

24. **εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς**, 'to 15 march into Boeotia to meet him and to make a stand there in defence of (πρὸ) Attica.'

26. **ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἐβοήθησαν**, 'had gone to Artemisium to help them.' **μηδενός** is for **οὐδενός**, c. 23, 3.

28. **περιεχομένων**, 'when (all) clung to the Peloponnesus,' **πάντων** being implied from **μηδενός**, as in *Fab. Max.* c. 11, **4 οὐδενός ἐν χώρᾳ μένειν τολμώντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ὠθουμένων**, *Tib. Gr.* c. 19, **3 οὐδενός ἐνισταμένου . . . ἀλλὰ φευγόντων**, *Brui.* c. 31, **2 οὐδενός αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον ἑαυτοῦς**

ἀπολλύντων, *Marc.* c. 20, 7 μηδενὸς τολμῶντος . . . ἀπαντῆσαι διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἄλλ' ἐκτρεπομένων, *Luc.* c. 19, 3, *Mat.* c. 11, 1. So Herod. viii 40 οἱ δὲ (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αἰτοῦς (τοὺς Πελοποννησίους) τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποικυμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπίενα.

For περιέχεσθαι, cp. *Mor.* 689 c τοῖς πόροις τούτοις ὧν ἐνιοὶ περιέχονται, 789 c τὴν ἔρρωμενεστέρην χεῖρα καὶ μάλλον τοῦ Διναίου περιεχομένην, 868 A Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσεῶν περιεχόμενον, 1123 A τὸ δὲ φύσει περιέχεσθαι τὰ τεκόντα τῶν γειναμένων, *Comp. Thes.* c. *Rom.* c. 2, 1 σφάζεται δὲ (ἡ ἀρχή) οὐχ ἦτον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος, Herod. i 71 γευσάμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέχονται (πολεῖ εἰς ἐμὸν οὐδὲν ἀποδίδουσι), iii 72 τῶν τοῦ περιεχομένου, vii 160 οὐκ οὐκίς περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

29. τὴν δύναμιν, *corias*. ὥρμημένων, 'having begun.'

30. εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf. Cp. *Per.* c. 19, 1, *Xen. Hell.* i iii 4.

31. ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας, objective genitive, 'indignation at their treachery.'

32. κατήφεια (=λύπη κάτω βλέπειν ποιούσα *Mor.* 528 E), 'dejection,' a poetical word, found once in Thucydides (vii 75, 5), very frequently in Plutarch.

Cp. *Cor.* c. 20, 5 τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἄχος ἔσχε καὶ κατήφεια δεινὴ, *Lyc.* c. 11, 2 αἰδὼς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχε, *Philop.* c. 21, 1 τὰς πόλεις κοινὴ κατήφεια καὶ πένθος εἶχεν, *Mat.* c. 29, 5 τοὺς ἀρίστους κατήφεια δεινὴ καὶ μῖσος ἔσχε τοῦ Μαρίου τῆς μεταβολῆς, *Nim.* c. 10, 2 μετανοεῖ καὶ κατηφεία συνοῦσαι, *Alcid.* c. 14, 9 τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ἐκπληξίς εἶχε καὶ κατήφεια, *Aem. Paul.* c. 22, 3 κατήφεια δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . κατεῖχε, *Comp. Sol.* c. *Publ.* c. 1, 4 τελευτήσας φίλους δάκρυα καὶ πόθον καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ' αὐτῷ παρέσχε, *Fab.* c. 18, 2 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλιγότῃ καὶ κατηφείᾳ τῶν συνερχομένων ἠλέγετο, *Publ.* c. 6, 1 ἦν μὲν σιωπὴ καὶ κατήφεια τῶν ἄλλων, *Relop.* c. 33 (λέγουσι) σιγὴν καὶ κατήφειαν εἶναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντός, *Mat.* c. 41, A διεφαίνεν ἡ κατήφεια θυμὸν οὐ τεταπεινωμένον ἀλλ' ἐξηγριωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς, *Caes.* c. 60, 3 μετὰ δεινῆς κατηφείας ἀπηλθον, *Antop.* c. 40, 5 ἐξέλειπεν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃ καὶ κατηφείᾳ τὸ παραθαρρύναι τὸ πλῆθος, *Dion.* c. 51 νικῶν ἀφήρηκας ἡμῶν ἀπάντων τὰς κατηφείας, *Mor.* 325 E τὴν τότε κατηφειαν ἧ τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν, 465 E τὴν λύπην μετ' ἀπραξίας καὶ κατηφείας αἰεὶ συνοικίσαντες ἔσχε.

36. ἐμφύναι, 'to cling closely to,' lit. 'to be grafted or rooted in,' 'grow into,' both literally and figuratively.

*Mor.* 806 F τούτων οὖν ἔχασθαι δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτοις ἐμφύεσθαι, *Cam.* c. 35, 2 ἐμφυομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Σουτρίνων, *Philop.* c. 4, 4 τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀναγνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Εὐαγγέλου τακτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο ('pinned his belief to'), *Timol.* c. 21, 2 ἐμπεφυκὸς οἷς κατεῖχε μέρεσι, *Ryrt.* c. 6, 1 ἐμφύναι τοῖς Μακεδόνων πράγμασιν, *Tib. Gr.* c. 6, 7, *Ant.* c. 77, 2, *Pomp.* c. 66, 2 ταῖς χερσὶν ἐμφύναι, *Alex.* c. 16, 8 ἐμφύς τῇ διαβάσει, *Cal. mi.* c. 4, 1 τοῖς ἠθικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο δόγμασι, c. 29, 4 ἐνεφύετο τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Κάτωνος, c. 49, 1 Καίσαρος ἐμπεφυκὸς τοῖς στρατευμασίν ἐν Γαλιταίᾳ, *Dem.* c. 29, 4 ἐμπεφυκὸς αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου, *Atal.* c. 50, 6 λησται γὰρ ἐμφύονται πέτραις, *Caes.* c. 38, 4 ταῖς κώπαις ἐμφύντες, *Nic.* c. 9, 1; c. 14, 2, *Flam.* c. 4, 5.

37. οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, 'the people listened to with impatience.' μήτε δεόμενοι, l. 27. They did not care for victory at such a price, they knew no salvation for men under such circumstances.

39. ἡρία, 'tombs' or 'monuments.' προΐεμένων, 'of such as left to their fate etc.,' c. 7, 3; c. 11, 3.

## CHAPTER X

§ 1 l. 1. ἀπορῶν . . . προσάγεσθαι, 'being at a loss how to bring over to his own point of view by methods of human reasoning.' Cp. *Timol.* c. 20, 4, *Dion* c. 4, 1 κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον, *Nic.* c. 13, 5.

3. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας, 'raising his machinery, like a poet in tragedy,' having recourse to supernatural agency to solve the difficulty. Pollux 4, 123 ἡ μηχανὴ δὲ θεοὺς δεικνυσὶ καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐν αἰέρι, Βελλεροφόντας ἢ Περσέας. Cp. c. 32, 2, *Lys.* c. 25, 1 ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν αἰρων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας, *Dion* c. 18, 2 πάσαν μηχανὴν αἰρων, *Mor.* 724 D τραγικῶς μηχανὴν ἄραντες δεδίπτεσθε τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας, 870 C τί γὰρ ἔδει φείδεσθαι μηχανῆς τραγικῆς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερπαίοντα τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς ἀλαζονεία.

4. σημεῖα δ. καὶ χρησμούς, generalising plurals.

5. ἐπήγεγν αὐτοῖς, 'brought to bear on them.' For a similar fig. use of the verb, cp. *Crass.* c. 30, 1 ἐπήγε (admonuit) τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλον, and for its literal application, that of an engine of war, *Marc.* c. 15, 3 ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἐπήγε μηχανήν. Plutarch uses it in both senses. σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, 'taking (availing himself of), on the one hand, for a portent that of the serpent,' or 'the incident of the serpent.' The corresponding sentence is τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ ἐδημαγωγεῖ § 2.

7. δοκεῖ, c. 8, 3. The story is thus told by Herod. VIII 41 λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδιατᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ (i.e. in the sanctuary (σηκός) of Athena Polias which lay between the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum). λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια (menstrua cibaria) ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες (sacra peragunt apponentes). τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόδεσσα ('honey-cake') ἐστὶ. αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόδεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἀφανστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης μᾶλλον τι (multo magis) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολλοεικυῆς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Cp. *Arist. Lys.* 759.

8. προτιθεμένας, participle of the imperfect.

- 16 9. ἀπαρχάς, 'firstlings for sacrifice,' hence generally 'offerings,' which were in this case the honey-cake, daily served to the serpent (καθ' ἡμέραν προτιθεμένη). εὐρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους, G. MT. § 883. ἐξήγγλλον, 'notified it.'

11. λόγον διδόντος, 'giving as an explanation' of the prodigy.

12. ὑφηγουμένη, *praeiens*.

§ 2 l. 13. τῷ χρησμῷ ἰδημαγωγῶν, 'made use of the oracle for swaying the popular mind.' It is given in full by Herod. VII 141. This was the second of the oracles which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice, priestess of Apollo at Delphi. For the history of the word δημαγωγεῖν, see my n. to *Tib. Gr.* c. 14, 1. Plut. says πάλιν, not (as Blass) because the oracle had been delivered some time before and he had already given this interpretation of it, but in reference to σημείον. The two lines here referred to are:—

τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς  
μοῦνον ἀπόρρητον τελέθειν, τὸ δὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

14. δηλοῦσθαι, *significari, declarari*. ξύλινον τεῖχος: Nep. *Them.* c. 2, 7, Justin II c. 12, 13. Cp. Cic. *ep. ad Att.* VII 11, 3, Polyæn. *Strat.* I 30, 1.

15. θεῖαν: the words of the oracle were:—

ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης,

i.e. at seed-time or in harvest.

16. σχετλίαν, 'sad.' Herod. VII 143 εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ὄντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκῆεν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὥδε "ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς," ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμῖς" εἶπερ γε ἐμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτῆσιν.

17. ὥς ἐπώνυμον ἐσομένην, 'because it would give its name to.'

Cp. *Rom.* c. 2, 1 οἱ Ῥωμύλον . . . ἀποφαίνοντες ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως, c. 12, 1 τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως εὐρῆν, *Num.* c. 13, 6; *Nic.* c. 9, 6 ἐπώνυμον γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν. It is also used to signify 'named after,' *Rom.* c. 20, 2 ὅς ἐνιοι λέγουσιν ἐπώνυμος φρατρίας εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν γυναικῶν, *Flamin.* c. 21, 1 ὥς ἐπώνυμος τοῦ θανάτου γίνετο (ut ex eius morte nomen sibi compararet), *Num.* c. 19, 5, *Cor.* c. 11, 2 καθάπερ Ἕλληνες ἐτίθεντο (ὄνομα) πράξεως μὲν ἐπώνυμον τὸν Σωτῆρα, ιδέας δὲ τὸν Γρυπὸν, ἀρετῆς δὲ τὸν Φιλῶδεσφον.

18. κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ, 'when his counsel had prevailed,' c. 6, 1. ψήφισμα γράφει, 'he indites a bill for ratification (κυροῦν) in the ecclesia.' Cp. *Dem. de f. l.* § 303, Aristides p. 256 (Θεμιστοκλῆς) γράφει τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς

Τροίηνα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Justin II 12, 16, Dio Chrys. xxv 312 ed. Dind. Παρακαταθέσθαι, παρακαταθήκη (not παραθέσθαι, παραθήκη) are the technical Attic terms for 'entrusting to a person's keeping.' See Lobeck on *Phrygisch*. p. 313 and cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 14, 3 ἀσμενος μόνῳ σχεδὸν ἐκείνῳ τῶν εἰς Ρώμην πλεόντων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρακαταθέμενος, *Phoc.* c. 21, 2 τῷ δὲ Φωκίῳ τὰλλα πάντα καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ παρακατατιθέμενος. Cp. Quintilian *inst. or.* IX 2, 92 *Themistocles suasisse existimatur Atheniensibus, ut urbem apud deos deponerent, quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent.*

20. μεδεούση, an archaic epic word, taken doubtless from the original psephism. Cp. Arist. *Eq.* 763 τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίᾳ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ. Blass compares an Inscription from Samos *CIGr.* 2246 ὅρος τεμένεος Ἀθηναῖς Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσης.

21. τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 'those able to bear arms.'

22. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα: in enumeration in English we say either 'children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children, their wives and their slaves,' but in Greek the article must be used with each noun or it may be omitted altogether. Cp. c. 6, 2 and see HA. § 660 a.

23. ὡς δυνατόν, sc. ἐστίν.

§ 3 l. 25. ὑπεξέθεντο, 'conveyed secretly away out of the reach of danger.' Cp. Thuc. I 89, 3 διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν, Eur. *Andr.* 69 τὸν παῖδ᾽ σου μέλλουσι . . . κτείνειν δὲ ἐξω δωμάτων ὑπεξέθου, Dem. *de f. l.* § 194, Lyc. c. *Leocr.* § 25, Lys. *Evitarph.* § 33, Nepos *Them.* c. 2, 8, Cic. *de off.* III 11, 48. Herod. (VIII 41) says that some went to Aegina, others to Salamis.

26. Τροίηνα: Troezen was a very ancient city, the capital of a small district in the S.E. angle of Argolis on the Saronic Gulf, opposite Aegina. It was the birthplace and home of Theseus (Eur. *Hipp.* 1097). Its inhabitants sent five ships of war to Salamis, and 1000 hoplites to Plataea. Their choice naturally fell on Troezen because of its geographical position and of the friendly relations which subsisted between it and Athens. Before the Peloponnesian war, the two states became estranged from one another, and the Troezenians henceforth became the allies of Sparta. φιλοτίμως πάννυ, 'with great emulation.'



28. δημοσίᾳ, 'at the public cost.' δύο ὀβολούς, i.e. rather more than 3d. daily.

29. ἐκάστω, to each head of a family.

τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν, 'to pick the fruit. HA. Gr. § 736.

Cp. Mor. 671 D τραπέζας προτίθενται παντοδαπῆς ὀπώρας i.e. 'of all kinds of fruit,' 683 B παρατεθείσης παντοδαπῆς ὀπώρας, 692 E τοὺς δρεπομένους τὴν ἀμπελίην ὀπώραν, 734 C κατηγορούσης τῶν νεῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῆς φύλης ὀπώρας, 752 A γλυκεῖ ὀπώρα φύλλακος ἐκλελοιπότες, 972 A ἀνάπλεως τῆς ὀπώρας, Thes. c. 23, 3 συγκομιζομένης ὀπώρας, Sol. c. 17, 1 τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὀπώραν, Cat. ma. c. 25, 1 περὶ τηρήσεως ὀπώρας γέγραπεν, Ctm. c. 10, 1 τῶν ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφείλεν, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπάρχη λαμβάνειν τῆς ὀπώρας, Alex. c. 50, 1 ὀπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῇ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. The Greek for 'in autumn-time' is τοῦ μετοπώρου or τοῦ φθινοπώρου.

30. ἐξεῖναι, *licere*, depends on ἐψηφίσαντο. τοὺς παῖδας, subject of the inf. λαμβάνειν: it might also have been expressed by τοῖς παισὶν ἐξεῖναι.

31. τελῶν μισθοῦς, 'to pay fees.'

32. Νικαγόρας: a name of favourable omen—a circumstance to which the Greeks attached great importance.

17 33. οὐκ ὄντων δημοσίων χρημάτων: Cobet says that χρήματα δημόσια can only mean *pecunia quae aerario debetur*, and that therefore we should read ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ, *in aerario*.

34. Ἀριστοτέλης: the reference is to the newly (1891) discovered treatise περὶ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας c. 23: μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ πάλιν ἰσχυσεν ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ καὶ διώκει τὴν πόλιν, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγ[ε]μονίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίας αἰτία. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν ἐξαπορησάντων τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ κηρυξάντων σφῆριν ἕκαστον ἐαυτῶν, πορίσασα δραχμὰς ἐκάστω ὅκτῳ διέδωκε καὶ ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς. τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν, 'the council of Areopagus,' (ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ), which, as reformed by Solon, consisted of those who had performed the duties of archon unexceptionably. Independently of its jurisdiction as a criminal court in cases of wilful murder, it possessed extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. Sol. c. 19, 2 τὴν δ' ἄνω βουλήν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοὶ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας ὁρμοῦσαν ἦττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον παρέχειν. From the present passage it has been concluded that its authority extended to the public finances also, but it is more probable that it had a treasury of its own, which enabled it to advance pay to the seamen at this crisis. Thirlwall *Hist. Gr.* Vol. III App. 1. Cp. Cic. *de off.* I 2, 75 et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiuverit, at ille vere ab se adiutum

*Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus.*

[The most strikingly novel fact brought to light by the treatise just referred to is the participation of Themistocles (from purely selfish motives) in the overthrow of the supremacy of the Areopagus, of which he was a member. The attack on this ancient council was designed and led by Ephialtes and delivered in the year B.C. 462. The share of Themistocles in the attack—at the time when he was under apprehension of a charge of Medism, which was being investigated by the Areopagus—consisted principally in hastening the course of events. Having first warned Ephialtes that the Areopagus was about to arrest him, Themistocles proceeded to the Areopagus and there denounced Ephialtes as being engaged in a conspiracy against the state, and offered to conduct a party to the meeting-place of the conspirators (*ἔλεγεν ὅτι δείξει τινας συνισταμένους ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας*). On arriving at the house of Ephialtes, he managed that he should be seen talking with the selected members of the Council by whom he was accompanied. Ephialtes, thinking that the warning of Themistocles was being fulfilled, made his escape and took refuge at the altar; but realising that his only chance of safety lay in taking the bull by the horns, he hurried to the *Βουλή* and made a violent attack on the Areopagus, in which he was seconded by Themistocles, proposing to strip it at once of its peculiar powers. The matter was transferred from the Council of Five Hundred to the Ecclesia, and the attack was completely successful there. The Areopagus was deprived of all the rights which made it the general guardian of the state, and its functions were distributed between the Five Hundred, the Ecclesia and the Law Courts.]

35. *πορίσασαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων*, 'by advancing to every man who served eight drachmas,' a sum equivalent to the ordinary pay for twenty-four days.

36. *αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριῆρεις*, 'was the chief cause of the ships being manned.' A 'ship's crew' is in Greek *πλήρωμα*.

38. *Κλειδῆμος*: see *Introduction*.

§ 4 l. 39. *ποιεῖται στρατήγημα*, 'considers, represents this (in his narrative) as a device of Them.' *στρατήγημα* is properly 'a piece of generalship,' hence generally 'any artifice' or 'device,' as in *Mor.* 755 D *ἀπολόγημα καὶ στρατήγημα τοῦ νεανίσκου νοῦν ἔχοντος*, Polyb. III 78, 1 *ἐχρήσατό τινι Φοινικικῷ στρατηγήματι*.

40. *τὸ Γοργόνειον*, 'the Gorgon's head,' which ornamented the breastplate (*al'vís*) of Athene in the Erechtheum. See the figure from the archaic Athena torso at Dresden, No. 370 in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* Vol. i. Hom. *Il.* v 741, Lucian *Philop.* c. 8 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῆς ἐνόπλου καὶ καταπληκτικῆς θεᾶς, ἥ καὶ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ στήθει περιάπτεται, τὴν γιγαντολέτην θεόν.

43. *χρημάτων πλῆθος*, 'a large sum of money,' c. 25, 2. *ἀνευρίσκειν* (not *ἀνευρεῖν*), because he found it more than once.

44. ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς, 'amongst the luggage' of those who were removing.

The word is not found in classical prose: it is mostly used by Plut. of 'military baggage' either in the plural, as *Marc.* c. 11, 1 διενεούοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφεξιόντων τοῖς πολέμοις αὐτοὶ διαρπάσαι τὰς ἀποσκευάς, *Caes.* c. 34, 3; *Alex.* c. 24, 1 μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Περσῶν, c. 26, 1; c. 82, 8 ἀγγέλους φράζοντας οἰχέσθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, *Arist.* c. 11, 1; or in the singular, as *Pyrgh.* c. 21, 9, *Mor.* 197 Ε διαρπάσαντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν, *Eum.* c. 5, 3; c. 16, 5, *Crass.* c. 9, 7 τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβε πᾶσαν, *Luc.* c. 25, 6 φεύγει . . . πρόμενος τὴν ἀποσκευὴν πᾶσαν, *Crass.* c. 9, 5 ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, *Pomp.* c. 67, 1 καταλιπεῖν (αὐτὸν) ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, *Alex.* c. 20, 6 τὰ πλείστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καταλιπόντων, *Anon.* c. 63, 2 πᾶσαν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπέπεμψε, *Mor.* 174 Α ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῇ διασπαρείσῃ. Polybius uses the singular only.

45. εἰς μέσον, *in medium*, 'for public use.'

*Cr. Xen. Cyrop.* II 1, 14 καταβίς τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον, *Oecon.* c. 7, 26 τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέροις κατέθηκεν, *Plato Philob.* c. 4 p. 14 Β μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, κατατιθέντες δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον, *legg.* IV c. 9 p. 719 Α βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θείναι.

εὐπορήσαι . . . ἐφοδῶν, 'they provided themselves with necessaries.' Plutarch uses the verb frequently in this sense, as *Alcib.* c. 28, 1 ἵππου ποθὲν εὐπορήσας, *Sull.* c. 26, 1 εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, *Artax.* c. 18, 1 ὅπως κτενὸς εὐπορήσειε, with other exx. in Gr. Ind. to *Timoleon* p. 228<sup>b</sup>.

§ 5 l. 46. ἐκπλεούσης τῆς πόλεως, emphatically, 'as the whole city put to sea.'

48. θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης, 'wonder at their resolution,' objective genitive, c. 9, 2.

49. γενεάς 'families,' i.e. wife and children, a common meaning in Plutarch.

*Cr. Pomp.* c. 28, 1 οἱ πλείστοι γενεάς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα . . . ἐν φρουρίοις εἶχον ἀποκείμενα, *Caes.* c. 20, 4 γενεάς καὶ κτήσεις ἐν τινι βυθῷ τῆς ὕλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι τῶν πολέμιων, *Mor.* 867 D ὅπως ὑπεκβοῖντο γενεάς καὶ τὸ οἰκετικόν, *Timol.* c. 34, 1 μετοικεῖν πρὸς Συρακοσίους χρήματα καὶ γενεάς ἀποδιδόντες, *Polyb.* xx 6, 6 πολλοὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεάς ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συστατοῖς τὸ πλεον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, and in the singular *Dionys. Halic. ant. rom.* II 15 ἅπασαν ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἐκτρέφειν.

ἄλλη προπεμπόντων, 'as they escorted them on their road elsewhere, gen. abs., not dep. on τόλμης.

προπέμπειν means generally 'to accompany a person part of the way,' while παραπέμπειν is the usual word for 'to accompany him the whole way.' *Per.* c. 32, 3 Ἀναξαγόραν φοβηθεὶς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *Alc.* c. 16, 6 εὐμερῆσαντα καὶ προπεμπόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *Flam.* c. 19, 2 ὁ δὲ δῆμος . . . τὸν Κάτωνα προύπεμψε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βηματος, *Caes.* c. 58, 1 πρὸς ὃν δεξιωσάσθαι καὶ προπέμψαι βαδίζοντων, *Cat. ma.* c. 65, 4 τῶν φίλων ὅσους ἐπεισεν ἡσπάζετο καὶ προύπεμψε, c. 72, 1, *C. Gr.* c. 15, 2, *Cic.* c. 19, 3, c. 22, 3 οὐκέτι σωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτοῦ, *Demetr.* c. 86, 4 προέπεμψεν (αὐτὸν) ἄχρι Θερραλίας, *Anon.* c. 40, 3, *Dion.* c. 53, 4, *Mor.* 37 Β ἵνα . . . ὑπὸ ποιητικῆς ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν προπέμπηται. The two verbs, however, are sometimes used with little difference of meaning.

αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς . . . διαπερὼντων, 'while they themselves unmoved at the cries . . . were crossing.' Cp. *Lyc.* c. 11, 3 τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀκάμπτων, *Nic.* c. 2, 4 τὸ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθρόβητον αὐτοῦ.

51. γονέων must refer to the aged folk who were left behind, but the reading is probably corrupt for γυναικῶν. περιβολάς, 'embraces.'

C. *Gr.* c. 15, 2 ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς, *Ani.* 49, 8 πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ἐτράποντο, *Dion.* c. 40, 4 χαρὰν καὶ περιβολὰς ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ προεπούσας οὐ παρέσχεν ὁ καιρὸς, *Xen. Cyneget.* c. 7, 3 (de sugentibus catellis) τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι.

52. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'and yet,' 'though,' as corrective of the previous statement, c. 1, 1. πολὺν . . . ἔλεον εἶχον, 'were the objects of much pity.' So φθόνον ἔχειν, 'to be envied,' c. 29, 2; αἰτίαν ἔχειν c. 21, 3; ὀδξαν ἔχειν c. 18, 2; πίστιν ἔχειν c. 12, 3, *Dem.* c. 10, 3.

Herod. viii 51 καὶ αἰρέουσι (sc. Πέρσαι) ἐρήμιον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὄντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένθητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θυρήσι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμῦνοντο τοὺς ἐπιδότας, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, *Ctes. Pers.* 26.

53. τις . . . ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, 'a certain fond tenderness of feeling that melted them to pity,' Fr. 'une douce et attendrissante émotion.' Cp. *Mor.* 970 B τὰ θάλακα καὶ βύθια (marine animals) πάσης ἀμοιρα γλυκυθυμίας, 982 A τοῦ δὲ γαλεοῦ τὸ φιλόστοργον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἡμερωτάτων ζώων ὑπερβολὴν γλυκυθυμίας πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα καὶ χρηστότητος ἀπολέλοιπε; and for ἐπικλῶσα, *Per.* c. 37, 2 ἡ παρούσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ . . . ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, *Dem.* c. 22, 5 ὁρῶντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθελύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πρὸς οἶκτον, *Marc.* c. 20, 7 ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀθήκε πάντας, *Lys.* c. 15, 3, *Alex.* c. 62, 3, *Demetr.* c. 47, 2, *Anton.* c. 18, 2 πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλωμένων, c. 35, 3, *Mor.* 259 D, *Aelian nat. an.* x 36 κύκνων τι μέλος . . . ὅσον εἰς οἶκτον ἐπικλάσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, *Heliod.* *Aeth.* ix 11 εἰ πως εἰς ἔλεον ἐπικλασθεῖεν. Thuc. uses the word, but only in the passive. ἀπό, 'because of,' 'occasioned by.' Cp. c. 12, 1; *Xen. Cyr.* iii iii 53 ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβος.

54. συντρόφων, 'domestic.' *Aem. Paul.* c. 10, 4 'οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα' εἰπεῖν ὧ πάτερ, ὅτι ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθνηκε;' λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον, *Xen. Mem.* ii iii 4 πρὸς φίλαν μέγα ὑπάρχει τὸ ὁμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόθος τις ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντρόφων, *Her.* ii 65 τὰ μὲν (θηρία) σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, *Pausan.* vii 13, 2 οὔτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο (*lupus*) ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον.

55. μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου, 'with yearning howls,' 'with whining and pining,' Zenodotus ap. Valckenaer. *ad Anthon.* p. 283 ὠρυγὴ κυρίως ἡ τῶν κυνῶν φωνή, καὶ ὠρύεσθαι, 'ὡς λύκος ὠρυοίμην' παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ, ὠρύεσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ λύκων εἶπεν. Cp. Theocr. *Id.* II 35 τὰ κύνες ἀμυν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται. συμπαράθεντων, 'as they accompanied them running by their side.'

- 18 57. Ξανθίππου, father of Pericles and commander of the Athenians at the battle of Mycale. Cp. *Cat. ma.* c. 5, 4 κύνας τε συντρόφους γενομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ξανθίππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα τῇ τριήρει παρανηξάμενον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δῆμος ἐξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ἐκίδευσεν, ἦν Κυνὸς σήμα μεχρὶ νῦν καλοῦσιν.

58. τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν, 'his separation from him.' Cp. Eur. *Iph. in A.* 669 μονωθείς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος, where Markland has initiated a wrong punctuation before ἀπά.

59. ἐναλίσθαι, 'jumped into the sea.' The same story is found in Aelian *nat. an.* XII 35 μετοικιζομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἦνκα . . . ὁ Πέρσης τὸν μέγαν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξῆψε καὶ λέγον οἱ χρησμοὶ λῶον εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν μὲν πατρίδα ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐπιβῆναι δὲ τῶν τριηρῶν, οὐδὲ οἱ κύνες τοῦ προειρημένου ἀπελείφθησαν ἀλλὰ συμμετρίκισαντο τῷ Ξανθίππῳ καὶ διανηξάμενοι ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα ἀπέσβησαν. Λέγεται δὲ ἀρα ταῦτα Ἀριστοτέλης (probably in his *Natural History*) καὶ Φιλόχορος.

60. ἐκπεσεῖν, 'was washed ashore,' c. 18, 1. So Hom. *Od.* VII 283 ἐκ δ' ἔπεσον θυμυγερῶν, Eur. *Hel.* 409, 1211, Thuc. II 92, 3 ἔσφαζεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα; VII c. 71, 6; Xen. *An.* VI iv 2, VII v 12.

## CHAPTER XI

§ 1 l. 1. ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, 'these then were great achievements of Them.,' the gen. as in c. 6, 2, *Cim.* c. 5, 1 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἥθους ἀγαστὰ καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος, *Philop.* c. 13, 1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος. The τε corresponds to καὶ of the next clause, which would have been more regular in the form (μέγα ἐστὶ) τὸ . . . αἰσθόμενον . . . γράφειν ψήφισμα or ὅτι . . . αἰσθόμενος . . . γράφει ψ., 'among the other great actions of Them. was his moving a decree.'

4. τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεῖς αὐτόν: cp. *Arist.* c. 8, 1 φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρη καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἀνατρέψῃ, *evertat.*

5. ἐξωστράκιστο . . . καταστασιασθείς, c. 5, 4.

7. γράφει ψήφισμα, c. 10, 2. From *Arist. l.c.* it would appear that Themistocles himself was not the mover of the decree, and it is a question whether Plutarch found this in his authorities. A decree of the people, by which the δῆμοι (c. 6, 2) were restored and exiles recalled, is mentioned by Andocides *de myst.* § 77 and § 107 ἐγνώσαν τοὺς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers, however, and tyrants also (in Athens) were excluded from the amnesty (§ 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment (τοῖς μεθεστῶσιν), cp. c. 5, 4.

8. τοῖς [ἐπὶ χρόνῳ] μεθεστῶσιν: μετὰστασις was always only temporary, therefore ἐπὶ χρόνῳ seems superfluous: Blass reads μὴ ἐπὶ φόνῳ, 'for other offences than murder.'

9. κατελθοῦσι, 'being restored from exile,' c. 21, 2. So κατὰγειν means technically 'to recall from banishment.' πράττειν καὶ λέγειν together imply the exercise of full political privileges.

10. Εὐρυβιάδου: Herod. VIII 42 ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὶν ὧντὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ Εὐρυβιάδης Εὐρυκλείδῳ, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλῆως ἐών.

§ 21. 12. ἀξίωμα, *dignitas*, 'consequence,' 'position,' the result of ἀξίωσις, 'consideration due to.' Thuc. I 18, 2 οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμισάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προδχοντες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μὴ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, Arrian *Anab.* c. 1, 1.

13. αἶρειν, 'to get under way,' 'to put to sea'; frequently absol. in Thuc.; once (VIII 39, 1) we have αἱ νῆες ἀρασαι ἐπλεον. For the fact, cp. Herod. VIII 56, Diod. XI 15, 2. The δέ is used after αἶρειν instead of τε because of the negative notion implied in μαλακοῦ = 'wanting in spirit,' see n. to c. 27, 2.

17. ὅτε, 'at which time.' See my n. to *Timol.* c. 11, 3, *Sull.* c. 4, 5. τὰ μνημονεύμενα (ἀπομν. c. 18, 1), 'the recorded sayings.' Cp. *Mor.* 811 B τὸ τοῦ Ἀντισθένης μνημονευόμενον, *Fab.* c. 26, 4 εἰπὼν τὸ μνημονευόμενον, *Marc.* c. 21 εἰπεῖν τὸ μνημονευόμενον, *Cal. ma.* c. 15, 4 τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν.

18. γάρ, 'namely,' introduces the narrative. This anecdote is told by Herodotus also (VIII 59), but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: ὥς δὲ ἀρα συνελέχθησαν (οἱ ἡγεμόνες), πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προβείναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὰς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι

λόγοις, οἷα κάρτα δεδμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύντου εἶπε· ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν ταῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προσεφαιστώμενοι ραπίζονται· ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος (*sc. pugnae*) ἔφη· Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται, *Ael. var. hist.* xiii 40.

- 19 20. τοὺς προσεφαιστωμένους, 'those who start before the signal is given,' *Mor.* 185 B, *Her.* viii 59. They were kept in order by the rods of the beadle (ραβδούχοι) or Ἑλλανοδίκαι (*Paus.* vi 2, 1) or ἀλέται as they were called at Olympia, in the employ of the stewards of the games (ἀθλοθέται). So we read in *Thuc.* v 50, 4 that one Lichas ὑπὸ τῶν ραβδούχων πληγὰς ἔλαβεν for a breach of the rules of the course: cp. *Xen. Hell.* iii ii 21. ραπίζουσι = ραβδίζουσι, 'strike with a rod.' In Plutarch's time this word had come to signify 'to strike with the palm of the hand,' as is proved by *Field Notes on select passages of the Greek Testament* p. 71 (Oxford, 8vo, 1881), where he expresses doubt whether any instance can be found later than Herodotus of its older meaning = ραβδίσειν. The present passage is an anecdote from Herodotus, which will account for the use of the verb in its earlier sense.

22. τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας, 'those who lag behind.' *Mor.* 58 F ἀπολειπόμενοι θεόντων ὥσπερ Κρίσων ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἀπελειφθὲν διαθέντων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, *Isocr. Evag.* § 79 παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις.

§ 3 l. 23. ἐπαράμενον τὴν βακτηρίαν κτλ., 'raising his staff, as though he were going to strike him.' The same brutal threat as was made by the Spartan Astyochus at a later period, *Thuc.* viii 84, 2 τῷ Δωριεὶ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ναῦταις καὶ ἐπ' ἀντήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς πλήξων *Schol.*), and by Menasippus, *Xen. Hell.* vi ii 19 ἀποκρινάμενων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν . . . τὸν μὲν τινα βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. Cp. *Xen. Anab.* ii iii 11.

25. πραότητα, 'composure' )( ὀργιλότητα, 'irascibility.'

27. ἀνήγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'tried to bring him back to the subject' under discussion. ἐπόντος τινος: according to *Her.* viii 61, this was Adeimantus the Corinthian. See *Introd.*

28. ἀπολις: cp. *Her.* viii 61 ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπὸλι ἀνδρὶ. πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνῶμας συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ πρόφερε, ὅτι ἠλώκεσθαι τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκοι, 'was not the right person to

admonish.' τοὺς ἔχοντας sc. πόλιν, to be understood from ἀπολίσ.

29. ἐγκαταλείπειν, *derelinquere*, 'to forsake.' This meaning of ἐγκαταλείπειν is peculiar to late Greek. In classical prose it signifies 'to leave in a place,' and is followed by the dative with or without ἐν. Such is the meaning which it bears in Thuc. IV c. 44, 4 πλὴν δυοῖν (νεκροῖν) οὗς ἐγκατέλιπον i.e. 'which they left on the field' (not, as Liddell-Scott, 'left in the lurch'). See my note to *Gracch.* p. 144.

30. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation' from Eurybiades to the man who had interrupted him, or, perhaps, 'in emphatic language.' Cp. Herod. VIII 62 λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα i.e. 'more plainly,' 'expressively.' τοι, 'let me tell you' emphatically.

31. ὦ μοχθηρέ, 'you wretch!'

32. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, 'disdaining,' c. 7, 2. ἀψύχων ἕνεκα: Justin II 12, 15 makes Them. say *patriam municipibus esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in aedificiis, sed in civibus positam; melius itaque salutem navibus commissuros.*

33. πόλις δ' ἡμῖν κτλ.: the remark is not so pointed in Herodotus (VIII 61) ἐνωτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ, ὥς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέγαν ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διεκδοῖαι νέες σφι ἕωςι πεπληρωμένοι.

34. διακόσται, 180 Athenian; and the 20 lent to the Chalcidians, to be manned by them (Herod. VIII 1).

36. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose.'

§ 4 l. 36. δεύτερον, c. 9, 2.

37. πείσεται τις Ἑλλήνων, 'many a one of the Hellenes [a litotes for πάντες Ἕλληνες] will hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free city and a country not inferior to that which they lost.' In Herodotus (VIII 62) the threat of Them. is more explicit:—εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομειόμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δεῖν κτισθῆναι: ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

39. ἥς ἀπέβαλον, by attraction for ἣν ἀπέβαλον.

40. ἔσχε, c. 9, 2. δέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ for δέος μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (anticipation of the subject). So Herod. VIII 63 says δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (Εὐρυβιάδης) ἀνεδιδάσκειο, μὴ σφέας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς



νέας ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. The speech of Them. in Diodorus agrees with that in Herod. VIII 60.

41. σφᾶς, 'himself and men,' indirect reflexive. See my n. to Thuc. VII c. 4, 3.

42. τοῦ Ἐρετριεύς, 'the Eretrian commander,' as Blass, not, as Sintenis, 'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is associated. It is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria (Hom. *Il.* II 537) was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just south of Chalcis, next to which it was the most important place in the island. The original town was destroyed by the Persians in B.C. 490, but afterwards rebuilt. τι λέγειν, 'to say something.' Its usual meaning is 'to say something to the point,' (οὐδὲν λέγειν, 'to talk nonsense.'

- 20 44. αἱ τευθίδες, *loligines*, 'cuttle-fish.' Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* I 11 f.) says that no molluscs (μαλάκια) have a σπλάγχνον i.e. heart or lungs, but the σπηλία and τευθίς and τευθος (a larger kind) have τὰ στερεὰ (bony substances) ἐν τῷ πρηνεῖ (the back) τοῦ σώματος, ἀκαλοῦσι τὸ μὲν σήπιον, τὸ δὲ ξίφος. By μάχαιρα is meant some cartilaginous organ.

Dr. B. V. Head is inclined to think that, when Them. reproaches the Eretrians with being like cuttle-fish, this not very obvious or appropriate comparison may have been suggested to his mind by the cuttle-fish, the distinctive emblem on the then current coinage of Eretria, of which there are many specimens in the British Museum. See his *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients* Pl. 4 no. 39.

## CHAPTER XII

§ 1 l. 1. τινων, not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν Θμιστοκλέα . . . γλαῦκα δέ, 'while Them. was talking . . . ; an owl was observed.' The simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often marked by τε . . . καί.

3. ἀνωθεν is to be taken with ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος; it forms a closer definition of ἀπό. γλαῦκα, the bird sacred to the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon is recorded in Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1086 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐσφῆμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν, γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτετο.

4. ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς, c. 13, 2. The Greek augurs faced the North in their observation of omens, and since the lucky ones came from the East, they were on their right: while the unlucky ones, coming from the West, were on their left (Hom. *Odys.* II 154, xv 164). The Romans, on the contrary, turned their faces towards the South, and therefore had the eastern or

fortunate signs on the left hand, hence *laevus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'lucky'; and when *dexter* has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τῶν νεῶν goes with διαπετομένην. Cp. *Pyrrh.* c. 13, 4 θροῦς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

5. τοῖς καρχησίοις, 'the mast-head,' through which the halyard worked. Cp. *Eur. Hec.* 1261 πεσοῦσαν ἐκ καρχησίων.

6. διὸ δὴ, c. 8, 2. καὶ μάλιστα, *vel maxime*. Cp. *Mor.* 548 c ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν πονηρῶν βραδύτης τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μέλλουσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ μάλιστα δεινὸν εἶναι, *Timol.* c. 30, 4 ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι γινώσκον, *Xen. Cyr.* II i 13, *Plat. rep.* p. 404 b, *legg.* p. 773 c ἐξ ὧν ἂ μὴ βουλόμεθα ξυμβαίνειν ἡμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ξυμβαίνει ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι.

προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his opinion.'

*Arist.* c. 5, 1 γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος, *Herod.* I 109 οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, II 120 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστίθεμαι, *Thuc.* VI 50, 1 προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, *Xen. Anab.* I 6, 10 ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφῆ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.

7. παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχῆσοντες: so without ὡς prefixed to the fut. participle, *Thuc.* II c. 18, 1 προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τέλει ποιησόμενοι, c. 91, 1 παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι, V 8, 3, VI 54, 4, VII 17, 3 παρεσκευάζοντο πέμψοντες. ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ: see *Herod.* VIII 67. The conclusion begins with ἐνθα δὴ I. 17.

8. ὁ στόλος, *classis*. κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικόν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf,' *Herod.* VIII 66, 67. Phalerum (Phalerus), a demus belonging to the tribe Aeantis, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (μετὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ *Strabo* IX p. 398). It was the oldest and easternmost port of Athens.

9. ἀπέκρυψεν, 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

11. ἄθρους, 'with all his assembled force.'

Cp. *Sull.* c. 12, 1 ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἄθρους ἐπέστη, *Eum.* c. 5, 3 τῇ φάλαγγι δεσπαμένην ἄθρους ἐπελάσας, *Forpr.* c. 20, 8 ἄθρους ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην, *Luc.* c. 27, 1 ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἄθρους κατέφάνη. In classical Greek the adjective is only used with Plurals or Collectives.

12. τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων, 'when the forces (land and naval) were (thus) combined,' a summary of the previous statement.

ἐξεργήσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *effluxerunt (ex animis) Graecorum*, 'were forgotten by the Greeks,' *Her.* VIII c. 70, c. 74.

Cp. *Mor.* 41 E τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐξεργῆναι τὸ ἡδύ, 792 D περιόψεται τηλικαύτας ἀρετὰς ἐκρυείσας τῆς ψυχῆς, *Alex.* c. 8, 4 ὁ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὺς . . .

αὐτῷ ζῆλος οὐκ ἐξερρύνῃ τῆς ψυχῆς, *Cat. mī. c. 71, 1* τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων οὐ πολλοὶ οἱ Κάτωτος λόγοι χρόνον ἐμμέναντες ἐξερρύνσαν.

14. ἐπάπταινον πρὸς, 'looked wistfully, anxiously, to.' παπταίνειν is a poetical word, of frequent occurrence in Homer. Plutarch uses it again *Anton. c. 37. 4* ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς ἐκείνην δει, *Philop. c. 12, 1* ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦντος ἡθύμει καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπάπταινεν.

15. ἑδόκει, *visum est, placuit.* τῆς νυκτός, 'the following night.' *Cp. c. 7, 4.*

16. παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had their orders to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch; according to Herodotus matters had not gone so far.

17. ἔνθα δῆ, *tum demum*, 'just then,' 'then and not until then.' βαρέως φέρων εἰ, 'vexed at the thought that.'

18. τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου . . . προέμενοι βοήθειαν: he means the advantage of a battle at Salamis—where, as Aristides says, ἡ φύσις τῆς θαλάσσης ἀχρηστον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐποίησε—and the disadvantage of returning (*Herod. VIII c. 57, c. 60*); in the latter case κατὰ πόλιν (distributive) ἔκαστοι τρέφονται. For the use of ἀπὸ with gen., where a simple gen. would have sufficed as in Latin, see n. to c. 4, 3, and *cp. c. 10, 5*; *Thuc. IV 108, 7* φθόνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν. τῶν στενῶν, c. 8, 1; c. 14, 2.

20. τὴν περὶ τὸν Σικίννον πραγματείαν, 'the (well-known) device of Sicinnus.' See n. to c. 3, 3.

§ 21. 21. Herod. (VIII 75) does not speak of Sicinnus as a Persian or as a prisoner of war. Hence it is surmised that Plutarch read the words of Herodotus πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἀνδρα πλοῖω carelessly, as if he had written τῶν Μήδων ἀνδρα, *quendam ex Medis*. For τῷ γένει, the dat. of respect, see G. § 188 Note 1 and *cp. c. 2, 1.*

23. εὐνοῦς: *Nepos Them. c. 4 quem* (sc. Eurybiadem) *cum minus quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit.*

24. παιδαγωγός, the slave who had charge of the sons of the more respectable families, c. 26, 1. ὅν for τοῦτον, as ὅτε for τότε c. 11, 2.

21 26. τὰ βασιλέως, 'the King's side.'

27. πρῶτος: the greater therefore the service. ἀποδιδρά-

**σκοπτας**, 'are trying to make their escape by stealth.' Cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 353 ff.

ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλληνα ἔξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ  
ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδί σφ' Ἐρέξη τάδε,  
ὥς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵξεται κνέφας,  
Ἕλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν  
νεῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε  
δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοντον ἐκσωσίοιτο.

Herod. VIII 75 οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῖς δρησμὸν βουλευόμενοι καταρ-  
ρωδηκότες, Diod. XI 17, Polyæn. *Strat.* I 30, 3.

28. **παρεῖναι** (*παριέναι*), 'to allow.'

29. **ἐν ᾧ παράττονται**, 'while they are in a state of confusion,' before the complete junction of the land and naval forces.

32. **δεξάμενος**, 'welcoming it as a proposal emanating from goodwill to himself.' Aesch. *Pers.* 361 οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον, Diod. XI 17, 2 διὰ τὴν πιθανότητα τῶν προσαγγελθέντων πιστεύσας.

**τέλος ἐξέφερε**, 'promulgated decisive orders.'

Cp. Cor. c. 6, 1 συνιούσης περὶ τούτων τῆς βουλῆς καὶ μηδὲν τέλος (decision) ἐκφερούσης, c. 16, 1; Dionys. *ant. rom.* VII 45 οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανον ἐξήνεγκαν τέλος καθ' ἡμῶν, VIII 54 περὶ τῆς καθόδου μήτε τὴν βουλὴν τέλος μηδὲν ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον μήτ' ἐκείνον ἐπιψηφίζεν.

34. **καθ' ἡσυχίαν**, 'at their leisure' )( ἥδη, 'at once.' Plutarch's account differs from that of Herodotus, who does not notice the personal interference of Xerxes in any way, but treats the communication of Sicinnus as having been made to the Persian generals, and the night-movement as having been undertaken by them. It agrees with Aeschylus *Pers.* 361. **διακοσίαις**, the *dativus militaris*, HA. § 774, Ruth. § 166.

35. **ἀναχθέντας**, *evectos*, 'putting to sea.' **τὸν πόρον**, 'the strait' between Salamis and the mainland, which was only a quarter of a mile broad at the narrowest part.

Prof. Goodwin in his able paper referred to in c. 13, 1 says:—'Plutarch with his usual carelessness seems to suppose that the blockade of both outlets (northern and southern) of the straits and, indeed, of the whole island, was effected by these 200 ships. But he evidently understands that the main body of the fleet, which was to be manned at leisure, is to remain outside of the southern outlet until morning.' It is usually assumed, from a misinterpretation of two passages of Herodotus, that the battle of Salamis was a contest between a Greek fleet in the bay of Salamis and a Persian fleet which had been drawn up along the opposite shore of Attica during the night. But Aeschylus (*Pers.* 398) distinctly represents the Persians as entering the straits of Salamis after day-break to begin the battle. This is confirmed by Diodorus (i.e. Ephorus) and Plutarch (c. 14, 2). The words ἀνῆγον μὲν . . . πρὸς Σαλαμίνα of Herod. VIII 76 refer really to the two hundred Egyptian ships (which probably formed the west wing of the Persian fleet as it lay near Salamis the afternoon before the battle) to the north-west point of Salamis to cut off escape through the bay of Eleusis;

and the following words ἀνῆγον δὲ . . . νηυσὶ to the posting of the main Persian force to guard the southern outlet of the straits, where Aeschylus places it. The Greeks were probably drawn up in a line from north-west to south-east across the passage between Aegaleos and the long point of Salamis (Cynosura). See map facing title-page.

36. δια[ώ]σαι τὰς νήσους, 'to form a girdle (as it were) between the islands' (Salamis, Psyttalea (*Arist.* c. 9, 2), Malante and Sileniae), 'to throw a boom across so as to close up the passages between them.' Cp. *Per.* c. 19, 1 τὸν αὐχένα (Chersonesi) διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

§ 3 l. 39. ἦκεν, from Aegina, *Arist.* c. 8, 2. According to Herod. (VIII 79), Aristides summoned Them. out of the assembled synod of chiefs (στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα . . . θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῆξαι).

41. ὥσπερ εἶρηται : c. 5, 4 ; c. 11, 1.

Aristotle (*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* c. 22 p. 64 ed. Kenyon) says ὥστρακίσθη δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς (B.C. 481) Ἀριστείδης ὁ Ἀνσιμάχου τετάρτῳ δ' εἰπε ἀπεδέξαντο πάντα τοὺς ὥστρακισμένους, ἀρχοντας Ὑψιχίδου, διὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατιάν. Plutarch (*Arist.* c. 8, 1) says that Aristides and the other political exiles were recalled while Xerxes was on his march through Thessaly and Boeotia, for fear that he might attach himself to Xerxes and carry with him a considerable party in Athens—a statement which, as Mr. Kenyon observes, is confirmed by the above passage of Aristotle. From an earlier passage in the same chapter we learn that Clisthenes was the author of the law of ostracism, which was aimed originally at the supporters of the house of Pisistratus, who remained at Athens (ὅς ἐτέθη διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὅτε Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν τυραννὸς κατέστη καὶ πρῶτος ὥστρακίσθη τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν Ἰππάρχου . . . , δι' ὃν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν νόμον ἐθήκεν ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐξελασαι βουλομένους αὐτόν). The law was confined to them for three years ; but in B.C. 486 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν δοκοῦντα μείζων εἶναι μεθίσταντο καὶ πρῶτος ὥστρακίσθη τῶν ἀπαθῶν τῆς τυραννίδος Πάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

43. τὴν κύκλωσιν, in the sense of κυκλοῦσθαι (passive), 'their being surrounded by the enemy.' *Arist.* c. 8, 2 οὐδενὸς προ-εἰδότες τὴν κύκλωσιν. τὴν ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, 'the general nobleness of the man's character' (c. 3, 2), which commanded his confidence. τοῦ ἀνδρός, used especially in familiar language, instead of the demonstrative pronoun, c. 16, 2.

44. τῆς παρουσίας ἀγάμενος sc. αὐτόν, gen. of the cause which excited his admiration, G. § 173, 1.

46. συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι, *simul retinere*, 'to aid him in keeping back,' not 'to take the part of,' as Liddell-Scott translate. Cp. *Agis* c. 7, 5 τὸν Λεωνίδα παρῆλθον ὄντα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (veluti manu iniecta reprehendere) τοῦ Ἀγίδος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύειν.

47. συμπροθυμείσθαι . . . ὅπως ναυμαχίῃσιν : cp. *Arist.* c. 9, 3 ἐκέλευε σκοπεῖν ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς

Ἑλλάδος. The subjunctive is less frequent than the future indicative in object clauses after verbs of striving, G. *MT.* § 339.

πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.' See n. to c. 10, 5.

Cp. *Arist.* 8, 5 εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν, *Pyrrh.* c. 26, 8 δοκῶν βίαιος εἶναι οὗτ' εὐνοίαν οὐτε πίστιν εἶχεν, *Caes.* c. 62, 2 πίστιν εἶχε μεγάλην παρ' αὐτῶ, *Dem.* c. 10, 3 ἐν ῥήμα καὶ νουμὰ πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος, *Dion.* c. 19, 1 ἦν ἐξαιρετος παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πίστις, ἦν ἄλλος αὐδεὶς εἶχεν.

48. μὲν οὖν: c. 2, 4; c. 7, 4.

50. ἐπῆγε, *οἰδαί*, 'went round to.' *Pomp.* c. 68, 3 ἐπιὼν τὰς φυλακάς, *Thuc.* v 110, 2 τῶν ξυμμάχων ὅσους μὴ Βρασιδᾶς ἐπῆλθε, vii 78, 1 ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, viii 54, 3 τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ('political clubs') ἀπάσας ἐπῆλθε.

51. ὁμως, in spite of his assurances.

52. Τηνία, from the island Tenos, mod. *Tino*, one of the 22 Cyclades, *Herod.* viii 82. ἐνανάρχα, a pleonasm for ἤρχε, c. 4, 2.

54. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation.' ὀρμήσαι, intrans. μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης, 'under the influence of necessity.' *Arist.* c. 8, 4 φυγῆς ὁδοῦ οὐ λελειμμένης.

## CHAPTER XIII

§ 1 l. 1. Ξέρξης ἀνω καθῆστο: *Aesch. Pers.* 463

ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,  
ὕψηλόν δ' ἔχον ἀγχι πελαγίαις ἁλός.

2. τὴν παράταξιν, nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

3. Φανόδημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of *Ἀτθίδες*. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Icus, one of the Cyclades, because he wrote a special work on that island (*Ἰκιακά*).

ὕπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον κτλ., 'above the Heracleum, where the island (Salamis) is separated by a very narrow passage from Attica.'

'This' says Prof. Goodwin in his paper 'On the Battle of Salamis' in the *Papers of the American School of Class. St. at Athens* i p. 255 ff. (Boston 1885), 'must be the τετρακώμων Ἡράκλειον, the sanctuary of Heracles which was the bond of union of four Attic demes, the τετρακωμία of Piræus, Phalerum, Xypete and Thymoetadae.' *Ctesias (Pers.* 26), after speaking of the burning of Athens by Xerxes, thus proceeds:—ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης αὐτόθεν ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ στεινότατον τῆς Ἀττικῆς (Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται) ἐχώννιεν χώμα ἐπὶ Σαλα-

μίνα, περὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν διαβῆναι διανοούμενος i.e. 'Xerxes came from Athens to the place in Attica called Heracleum, where there is the narrowest (or a very narrow) passage, and undertook to build a causeway across to Salamis, with the intention of passing over to the island by land.' Now we learn from Strabo (*Geogr.* ix c. 1, 18) that the ferry which Xerxes attempted to dam over was near Cape Amphiale, and the seat of Xerxes was, according to Herodotus (viii 90), on the slope of Mount Aegaleos. The Heracleum, therefore, must have been somewhere about the point marked H on the Map. 'It is impossible' adds the same writer 'now to identify any particular point of Aegaleos as the seat of Xerxes. If the battle took place at the outlet of the straits, any place on the southern slope of the hill would have commanded a full view of it.'

6. **μεθορία** (μετά, ὁρος), 'the frontier of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

7. **Κεράτων**: Strabo ix c. 1, 11 ἐν τῇ Παραλίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Σαλαμίνα κείσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς τε Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅρη δύο, ἃ καλοῦσι Κέρατα. This would be much too far to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. The assertion is a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marks so many ancient writers. **χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος**, 'having a golden throne set for him.' The throne with silver feet (*ἀργυρόπους*), upon which he sat, was long preserved in the Acropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat, Dem. c. *Timocr.* § 129. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of a Persian king in his Herodotus vii c. 16.

8. **παραστήσάμενος**, 'causing to sit by him.' **ἔργον**, 'duty,' 'business.' **ἀπογράφεσθαι κτλ.**, 'to note down the incidents of the battle.'

§ 2. This story is taken from Phanias. See *Introduction*.

11. **σφαγιαζομένῳ**, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens, without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

12. **κάλλιστοι ἰδέσθαι**, an Homeric expression, which will account for the use of the middle, unusual in prose.

16. **ἀνέλαμψεν . . . πῦρ**, 'a great and brilliant flame shot up from the victim on the altar.'

18. **παρμῆς**, 'sneezing,' was considered a good omen even in Homer's time, *Od.* xvii 545. Cp. Xen. *Anab.* iii ii 9, Theoc. vii 96 Σιμυχίδα μὲν Ἔρωτες ἐπέπαρον, xviii 16, Catull. xlv 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem*. **ἐσήμνη**, 'gave an omen.'

19. **δεξιωσάμενος**, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him. **τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι**, 'to sacrifice the youths,' lit. 'to make a beginning of' or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead (Herod. ii 45, Hom. *Il.* iii 273 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμεν τρίχας) and putting it in the fire.

20. ὠμηστοῇ, *qui crudis carnibus vescitur*. This or ὠμάδιος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices offered to him at Chios and Tenedos, Orph. *Hymn.* 29, 5, Porphyr. *de abst.* 2, 55 ἐθύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ. On the rites of ὠμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on Eur. *Bacch.* 138.

21. οὕτω γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι, infinitive dependent on ἔφη implied in ἐκέλευσε.

23. μέγα καὶ δεινόν, 'monstrous and shocking.' τὸ μάντευμα, 23 object to ἐκπλαγέντος, cp. c. 7, 3.

24. ὡς ἐπὶ συνήθει, 'as is usual,' in reference to what follows.

25. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων κτλ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cp. Polyb. x 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (probabili ratione) προνοίας τυγχάνοντα, xii 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἐτι μένει.

27. ἅμα is explained by κοινῇ φωνῇ. κατακαλοῦντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering,' for the more usual ἐπεκαλοῦντο. *Mor.* 389 οἱ τρεῖς μῆνας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, *Isocr. Helen.* § 61 οἱ τινες ἂν αὐτοὺς εὐσεβῶς κάτω κατακαλέσωνται, *Appian Pnn.* c. 81 (ed. Mendelssohn) has the active:—τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπατημένοι κατεκάλουν.

31. Φανίας: c. 1, 2. Cp. *Arist.* c. 9, 2 λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psytalea, when Aristides attacked it at the beginning of the action. Now Aristides did not attack Psytalea until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

## CHAPTER XIV

§ 1 l. 2. ὡς ἂν εἰδώς, 'as one who knew,' in full λέγει ὡς ἂν λέγει εἰδώς.

3. διαβεβαιούμενος, 'being positive.' Πέρσαις, v. 341-3; the words are those of a Persian, who escaped from the battle, addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes.



5. καὶ γάρ, *et enim*.

χιλίας ἦν . . . πλῆθος, 'the bulk was a thousand,' τὸ πλῆθος being opposed to αἱ ὑπέρκοποι τάχει, 'those of extraordinary speed.'

The words of Aeschylus may express that the whole amount was 1000, which included 207 fast-sailing vessels; but the former meaning seems to be established by the concurrence of Herodotus (vii 184), who raises the whole to 1207. This number is adopted with slight variations by Isocrates (who in three passages, *Paneg.* 105, 111, 186, gives 1200, but in *Panath.* 53 1800) and by Nepos *Them.* c. 2 who has 1200, also by Diod. Sic. who has more than 1200. On the other hand, Demosthenes *de symm.* § 29 speaks of 1000 in round numbers.—THIRLWALL *Hist. Gr.* II App. iv ed. ma.

6. ὃν ἦγε *sc. νεῶν*.

7. ὃς' ἔχει λόγος, 'such is the tale' i.e. the reckoning, not 'so the story goes.'

8. ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα: c. 11, 3. τὸ πλῆθος, accusative of limitation.

9. τοὺς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] καταστρώματος μαχομένους: The number of ἐπιβαταὶ on board the Athenian galleys seems to have been very small, not only when compared with that of the Persians, who took 80 of the best troops on board each vessel in addition to the ordinary complement of 200, but in comparison with the usual force of a Greek ship of war. Herodotus (vi 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade had forty to each crew. It has been said that Them. was the author of an improved system of naval tactics, but Thuc. i 49 speaks of the ancient usage as subsisting down to the Peloponnesian war, apparently as if he did not know that it had ever been interrupted. It is possible that the eighteen men mentioned by Plutarch, instead of being the full complement of soldiers on the deck, were an extraordinary addition to the usual number.—THIRLWALL *l.c.*

§ 2 l. 13. συνιδόν: c. 7, 2; c. 8, 2. φυλάξας, 'having watched for.'

14. ἀντιπρόρους, 'with their prows facing those of the barbarians,' so as to be ready for action.

15. ὥραν, 'time of day.'

24 16. λαμπρόν, 'fresh,' predicate. Cp. *Sull.* c. 38, 3 ἀνέμου λαμπροῦ καταιγίσαντος, *Sertor.* c. 7, 4, *Pomp.* c. 80, 1, Herod. ii 96 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλεῖν, ἦν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμὸς ἐπέχῃ, *Alexis ap. Athen.* viii 338 d εἰ πνεύσειε βορρᾶς ἡ νύκτος ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαμπρὸς, *Arist. Eq.* 430 ξειμὶ σοι λαμπρὸς ἦδη καὶ μέγας καθιέις, *ib.* 760 ὅπως ξει. . . λαμπρὸς. ἐκ πελάγους is in opp. to διὰ τῶν στενῶν; ἀεὶ with κατὰγουσαν. κύμα, 'a swell.' Leake (*Demi of Attica*, p. 203 n.) rejects this account, because in the latter part of the year, when the battle took place, the sea-breeze seldom sets in until late in the forenoon, and according to Aeschylus and Herodotus the battle began at daybreak.

According to Herodotus (viii 83) the Greeks waited for the arrival of the Aeginetan trireme sent the day before to summon the Asacidæ from Aegina to their aid. See c. 15, 1.

17. τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε κτλ., 'did not impede or thwart them, because they were flat (δλιτενεῖς) and lower.'

19. ταῖς πρῦμναις ἀνεστώσας, 'high-sterned,' lit. 'standing up with their sterns.'

21. βαρείας, with τοῖς καταστρώμασιν. ἐπιφερομένας ἐσφαλλέ κτλ., 'as it caught them, bore them out of their course and caused them to present their broadsides to the Greeks.'

22. ὀξέως προσφερομένοις, 'eagerly attacking,' c. 15, 2; c. 30, 2.

23. προσέχουσιν: c. 2, 4; c. 7, 1; c. 31, 1.

24. ὥς ὁρῶντι, 'because they thought he saw,' subjective reason; a further reason (objective) is introduced by ὅτι. Cp. Aesch. Pers. 413 ff., Herod. VIII 60. κατ' ἐκείνον, 'opposite to him.'

25. Ἀριαμένης: according to Herod. (VIII 89), it was Ariabignes, the son of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas.

28. δικαιοτάτος, because, when the sons of Darius disputed the succession to his throne, and Xerxes, a son of the second family, was appointed, Ariamenes, who was the eldest of the first family, at once renounced his claims. Plutarch Mor. 488 ε quotes his conduct herein as ἀρχέτυπον καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμώμητον εὐμενέας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. In Herodotus VII 3 this son is named Artabazanes.

§ 3 l. 29. Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεύς, Ameinias of the deme Decelea, in the φυλὴ Ἰπποθωντίς. He could not have been a brother of the poet Aeschylus, according to the tradition of Diodorus XI 27, 2, because the poet was an Eleusinian, not a Decelean nor a Pallenian (Παλληνεύς Herod. VIII 84, 93). See Prof. Goodwin l.c. p. 247 note 3.

30. Παιανιεύς, 'of the deme Paeania,' the birthplace of Demosthenes the orator, in the tribe Pandionis. ὁμοῦ i.e. in the same vessel. αἱ νῆες, of Ariamenes and Ameinias.

31. συνερείσασθαι, intrans. *in se mutuo impactae*, 'dashing together.' Cp. Arat. c. 22, 6 τέλος συνερείσαντες ἐξωθοῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους, Polyb. XII 21, 3 συνήσπισαν οὕτως ὥστε συνερείσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, V 84, 2 ὀλίγα τινα (τῶν θηρίων) συνήρεισε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, Diod. Sic. XIII c. 46 ὁπότε συνερείσειαν αἱ νῆες. τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνέσχηθησαν, 'were held fast, became entangled, by their brazen beaks' (ἐμβολοὶ, *rostra*). Cp. Anab. c. 66, 1 τῶν Καίσαρος (νεῶν) ἀντιπρῶτων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, c. 67, 3 τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων τῷ χαλκώματι πατάξας, Diodor. Sic. XX c. 9 ἐλαβον τὰ χαλκώματα Ἀγαθοκλέους νεῶν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τρήρεις.

32. ἐπιβαίνοντα, 'as he was in the act of boarding.'

33. ὑποστάντες, 'making a stand against him,' c. 3, 1.

τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες, 'wounding him with their spears.'

Cobet (*Var. Lect.* p. 380) points out that τύπτειν has two meanings: *ferire, vulnus infligere* 'to inflict a wound with some weapon,' and *caedere, verberare* 'to beat,' 'smite.' In the second sense its future is τυπήσω, aor. πληγὰς ἐνέβαλον or ἐνέτεινα, very seldom ἐπάταξα and sometimes ἐπαισα. In the former sense the future in use is πατάξω, the aor. is ἐπάταξα, πληγὴν ἐνέβαλον, sometimes in poetry ἐπαισα. The perfect is in both senses πέπληγα, but πληγὰς δέδωκα is more common, for *cecidit, verberibus confudit*, though the former is found in Arist. *Av.* 1850 and Xen. *Anab.* vi i 5 ἐδόκει πεπληγέναι τὸν ἀνδρα. In the passive the forms in use are respectively (1) τύπτομαι, παίσομαι, πληγὰς λαμβάνω (*caedor*), τυπήσομαι, πληγὰς λήψομαι, πληγὰς ἔλαβον, πληγὰς εἰλήφα, (2) τύπτομαι, πληγὴν λαμβάνω (*vulneror*), πέπληγμαι, πεπλήσομαι, ἐπλήγην, πληγήσομαι.

35. διαφερόμενον, 'tossed about,' 'floating amongst the other wreckage.' Cp. *Mor.* 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος. Strabo *Geogr.* iii c. 2, 5 εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατὰρα μύθους παραδιερχθεὶς περὶ τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους, Act. Apost. xxvii 27 διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ. Ἀρτεμισία, the heroine Queen of Caria, who distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled. She is not to be confounded with the Artemisia who was the wife of Mausolus, King of Caria. The death of the admiral Ariabignes (Ariamenes) is recorded also by Herodotus (viii 89).

## CHAPTER XV

§ 1 l. 1. ἐν τούτῳ . . . ὄντος, 'when the battle was at this point.'

3. ἦχον καὶ φωνήν: These voices, according to Herodotus viii 65 (who however does not mention the 'great light,' φῶς . . . μέγα), were heard some days before the battle, while the Persian land-force was ravaging the territory of Attica. Dicaeus, an Athenian exile (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate), was the first who observed the thing and carried an account of it to Xerxes (*Langhornes*). He affirmed that he heard the hymn called Iacchus, which was always recited in honour of Dionysus during the procession from Ceramiscus to Eleusis (*Wragham*).

τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχειν πεδίον, 'filled the Thriasian plain.' This plain, so named from the deme of Thria near Eleusis (Strabo *Geogr.* ix c. 1, 6, 13), extends along shore seven or eight miles from Mt Poecilum to Mt Kerata (*Kandili*) (c. 13, 1), and reaches inland about five miles. Herod. viii 65, ix 7, Apollodorus iii 14, 11.

25 5. τὸν μυστικὸν ἑξαγόντων Ἰαχχον, 'escorting the mystic Iacchus.' The great festival of the Eleusinia was celebrated annually from the 15th to the 23rd of the month Boedromion

(Plut. *Cam.* c. 19, 6). The sixth (called "Ιακχος") was the great day of the festival, on which the statue of the Eleusinian Dionysus was carried along the sacred road (Plut. *Alc.* c. 34, 3 ff.) amid joyous shouts from the Ceramicus to Eleusis (Arist. *Ran.* 315, Plut. *Phoc.* c. 28, 1). The procession was accompanied by a great number of followers and spectators, usually as many as 30,000 (Herod. VIII 65).

6. πλήθους, 'dense crowd.' κατὰ μικρόν, *paulatim*, 'little by little,' below l. 18, c. 4, 3.

7. νέφος: Herod. VIII 65 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὑπνοοστέιν, not in its usual sense *subsidere*, 'to settle on the ground,' but 'to retire' as *Mor.* 1005 B.

8. κατασκήπτειν εἰς, 'dropped upon,' generally used of lightning. Cp. Her. *l.c.* ἦν (τὸ φθεγγόμενον) κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. The insulted deity therefore, he inferred, was issuing from Eleusis to succour the Greeks and avenge his neglected rites upon the Persians. Ἕτεροι: The Greeks, according to Herod. (VIII 64), had sent a vessel to Aegina to fetch (the statues of) Aeacus and the other Aeacids, viz. Peleus, Phocus, and their descendants Crisus, Panopeus, etc. Telamon and Ajax had already been invoked from Salamis: εὐξάμενοι πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἰαντὰ τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νῆα ἀπέστελλον εἰς Αἴγινα. This vessel came back at the beginning of the battle (*ib.* 84).

9. καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν, 'fancied that they distinguished.' See n. to c. 26, 2.

10. τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων, 'stretching forth their hands.' πρό, 'in defence of.'

12. παρακεκλημένους, *invocatos*, Her. VIII 64.

§ 2 l. 13. μὲν answers to δὲ in οἱ δ' ἄλλοι; the οὖν is continuative. According to Herodotus (VIII 11), it was at Artemisium that Lycomedes performed the exploit mentioned; he makes Ameinias the first to capture a vessel at Salamis. Plutarch probably had seen the inscription of the votive offering, in which the place of the battle was not mentioned.

15. παράσημα = ἐπίσημα, c. 8, 1.

16. ἀνέθηκεν: c. 5, 2. Φλυήσιν, 'at Phlya' (c. 1, 3), the deme from which Lycomedes came, where was a temple of Apollo with the laurel crown (*Phoebo laurigero*, Ovid *ars am.* III 389), called Δαφνηφορεῖον (Athenae. x c. 24).

17. *ἕξισοῦμενοι τὸ πλῆθος*, 'being on an equality in point of numbers,' explained by *ἐν στενῷ κτλ.*; for, as Nepos says, *barbarus alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.*

18. *κατὰ μέρος*, 'in detachments': see above l. 6 *κατὰ μικρόν. προσφερόμενους*: c. 14, 2.

19. *ἐτρέψαντο μέχρι δαίης ἀντισχόντας*, 'routed them after they had held out till evening.'

20. *Σιμωνίδης*: Simonides of Ceos (c. 1, 3; c. 5, 4)—to be distinguished from his namesake, the iambic poet of Amorgos—B.C. 556-469, was the most popular of the Greek lyric poets, being the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the heroism of the victors in the great national struggle with Persia. We have no complete poem of his left (save epigrams and epitaphs), but only remains of Hymns, Dithyrambs, Hyporchemes, Epinicoi, Parthenia and Threnoi. The most celebrated fragment is the beautiful Epode containing the 'Lament of Danae.' See my Introduction to Xen. *Hieron* p. xxvi ff.

21. *περιβόητον*, 'far-famed.' *ἀράμενοι νίκην*, *reportata victoria*, cp. Hom. *Il.* VII 203 *ὄδς νίκην Αἰάντι καὶ Ἀγλαῶν εἶχος ἀρέσθαι*, Aesch. *S. c. Theb.* 305 *ἀροισθε κῦδος*, Plat. *legg.* p. 969 A *κλέος ἀρεὶ μέγιστον*.

22. *Ἐλλήσω*, dative of the agent, which is seldom found with other parts of the passive than the perfect, c. 17, 2. *ἐνάλιον ἔργον*, 'naval exploit,' probably the actual words of Simonides.

25. *δανότητι*: c. 2, 4 n., Nep. c. 4 *victus est magis consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae*.

## CHAPTER XVI

§ 1 l. 2. *θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότην*, 'enraged at, unable to reconcile himself to, his defeat.' The verb *θυμομαχεῖν* means properly 'to struggle with the feelings,' implying deep-seated anger. It occurs again *Demetr.* c. 22, 1 *οὐδὲν δέξιον λόγον πράτων ὅμως ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς*, and once in the New Test., Acts xii 20 *ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρραίοις*. In Polybius ix 40, 3, xxvii 8, 4 it is said to mean 'to fight desperately.'

3. *διὰ χωμάτων*, 'by means of mounds' i.e. by filling up the strait with earth. Her. viii 97 *ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαυλοὺς τε* ('merchantmen') *Φοινικητοὺς συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντὶ τε σχεδίου ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος*. In this way Alexander after-

wards succeeded in reducing Tyre, though the Tyrians were masters of the sea (Arrian *Anab.* II 18). So Ctesias *Pers.* c. 26 and Strabo *Geogr.* IX c. 1, 13 represent Xerxes as having originally designed to carry his troops across to Salamis over a causeway (διαχούν τὸν πορθμὸν) and as having been prevented from executing his plan by the battle. ἐπάγειν, the usual word for 'leading an army against an enemy.' Hence ἐπακτὸς στρατός, 'a foreign army of invasion,' Soph. *Trach.* 258.

6. ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου, 'by way of making trial of, 26 sounding, Aristides.' λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο (= ἐγγίνωσκεν), 'formed the design (or 'made a proposal') in pretence, not in earnest.' Cp. *Marcell.* c. 13, 5 ἐποίησατο γνώμην ἢ βουλὴν μηδὲν . . . δεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους ἀνθρώπων ἀνάνδρων, *Cat. mi.* c. 41, 1 Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι γνώμην ἐποίησαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μετέναι, *Thuc.* I 128, 7 γνώμην ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι, II 2, 4 γνώμην ἐποιούντο κηρύγμασι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδείους, VII 72, 2 γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο βιάσασθαι τὸν ἐκπλοῦν.

7. τὸ ζεύγμα, 'the bridge of boats.'

8. ὅπως . . . λάβωμεν, vivid construction.

9. τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ. Cp. *Arist.* c. 9, 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεῖττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὸ ζεύγμα διακόψαντας.

10. δυσχεραίνοντος, 'exhibiting his dislike' of the project.

Plutarch ascribes this counsel to Aristides, supposing it to have been given at Salamis, but there was no reason for supposing that he was with the fleet at Andros, where the Greeks in pursuit of the Persian fleet stopped to hold a council of war. The Athenians according to Herodotus were all desirous of continuing the pursuit and sailing to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge and intercept the return of Xerxes. But Eurybiades represented the danger of driving a powerful enemy to despair, and was of opinion that no impediment ought to be thrown in his way. The Peloponnesian commanders all approved of the admiral's caution; and it was only after this failure that Them. opposed independent action on the part of the Athenians. According to Thucydides I 137, 4, Them. claimed credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. He makes him speak in a letter addressed to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, of an εὐεργεσία being owed to him because of τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν. Cp. *Nep.* c. 5 *Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorum eum (Xerxei) fecit, id agi ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur idque ei persuasit.*

11. τρυφῶντι, 'taking his ease.'

12. ἐὰν . . . καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην, 'should we force him to fight for fear of extremities,' *Arist.* c. 9, 3 μὴ κατακλεισθὲς ἀπορία φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.

§ 21. 16. σκιάδι χρυσῇ, 'a golden canopy,' held over him by eunuchs standing behind, after the fashion of effeminate Asiatics. Cp. *Anton.* c. 26, 2 κατέκειτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ (of Cleopatra sailing on the river Cydnus). ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, 'quietly'; so ἐπ' ἀδείας, *secure*, *Sol.* c. 22, 1.

17. πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρών, 'appearing at all operations in person.'

18. ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρειμένα, 'he will make amends for his errors,' 'repair his negligences.'

19. ὑπὲρ τῶν δλων, *de summa rerum*, l. 43; c. 8, 1.

21. ἐτέραν προσκατασκευάσαντας, 'building another besides.' εἴπερ οἷόν τε sc. ἐστί.

22. τὸν ἀνθρωπον, used for the personal pronoun, 'the man,' 'the fellow,' generally with a connotation of contempt or pity. So *Cam.* c. 15, 4 τὴν ἀνθρωπον, 'the woman,' *Timol.* c. 33, 1 τὰς ἀνθρώπους. Similarly *homo* is used in Latin, as in *Plaut. Men.* prol. 66 *abstraxitque hominem in maximum malam crucem*, *Ter. Phorm.* prol. 2; iv 2, 1. Cp. c. 5, 1; c. 12, 3.

24. ὦρα sc. ἐστί, 'it is high time.'

25. πάντας ἡμᾶς: from this it might seem that the proposal was made in a council of war; yet Aristides, not being one of the generals, could not have been present; ἔδοξε (l. 27), 'it was resolved,' points to the same conclusion. ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῇται, c. 12, 3.

26. τὴν ταχίστην: c. 7, 3; c. 3, 1; *Arist.* c. 9.

27. ἔπεμπε τινά: according to Herod. (VIII 110), the bearer of the message was Sicinnus (c. 12, 2), who was accompanied by several other trustworthy servants or friends. The tradition followed by Plutarch is more probable.

28. εὐνούχων: Her. VIII 105, 3 παρὰ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνούχοι πιστίος εἴνεκα τῆς πάσης.

29. Ἀρνάκην: *Arist.* c. 9, 3 ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης . . . ἐκέλευε (τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα) σκοπεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλῃσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορία φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνούχον ὁ Θεμ. ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεὶ κελεύσας ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει, σφύσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος. Cp. Herod. VIII 110. ὀνόματι: c. 6, 1.

30. Ἕλλησι . . . κεκρατηκότας: for the change from the dative, cp. Xen. *Anab.* III ii 1 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας.

31. ἀναπλεῖν κτλ., 'to put out to sea and sail into the Hellespont to the bridge of boats.' Dem. *de Cherson.* § 15 ἡμῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεῦσαι.

33. γέφυραν, not pleonastic, but explanatory of ζεύγμα as 27 defining its object. Plut. *Mor.* 174 E τὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ζεύγμα λύσαντας, Diod. Sic. xi 19, 5 τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρην δηλώσοντα διότι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα λυεῖν τὴν γέφυραν.

§ 3 l. 33. κηδόμενος βασιλῆως, 'out of concern for the king.'

35. μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις, 'whilst he himself is creating delays among the allies.' Cp. Thuc. iii 38, 1 χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποισάντων, [Dem.] c. *Euerg.* § 63 διατριβὰς ἐμποιῶν, Dem. *Phil.* iii § 71 ἵνα... χρόνους ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν, *de f. l.* § 163 οὐδ' ἐνεποίησαν (con). Dobree) χρόνον οὐδένα, *Aristocr.* § 93 οἱ γραψάμενοι καὶ χρόνους ἐμποιήσαντες, *Phorm.* § 2 ἵν' ἐκκρούοντες χρόνους ἐμποιῶμεν. His motive appears from Herodotus (viii 109) ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν ('a place of refuge'). Cp. c. 28, 1.

38. περίφοβος: Diod. xi 19, 6 περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπαμβόου στερηθῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλαττοκρατούντων. ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν = ἀνεχώρει.

39. πείραν παρέσχεν sc. ἐαυτῆς, 'gave proof of itself,' 'was manifested,' in respect to Mardonius.

41. εἶγε, *siquidem*, 'inasmuch as.' πολλοστημορίῳ κτλ., 'with an infinitely small part of the force under Xerxes.'

42. Πλαταιαῖσιν: c. 1, 1.

## CHAPTER XVII

§ 1 l. 1. πόλεων, as if ἀνδρῶν δέ followed instead of Θεμιστοκλεῆ. μὲν οὖν: c. 15, 2 n. ἀριστεύσαι, 'bore off the palm of individual merit.' Her. viii 93 ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἕλλήνων ἀριστα Αἰγινήται, ἐπὶ δὲ (post illos) Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτὸς τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὅς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. Neither Herod. nor Plut. says anything about the formal division of the spoil.

[Plutarch] *Mor.* 871 n carps at this statement, but it is confirmed, says Rawlinson, by Ephorus (*fr.* 112), Diodorus (xi 27, 2), and Aelian (*var. hist.* xii 10). Diodorus ascribes it to the jealousy of the Spartans that Aegina was preferred above Athens: κρίσεως προτεθείσης περὶ τῶν ἀριστιῶν,



χάρτι κατισχύσαντες (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐποίησαν κριθῆναι, πόλιν μὲν ἀριστεύσαι τὴν Αἰγινήτων, ἄνδρα δὲ Ἀμεινίαν Ἀθηναίων. He speaks even more unreservedly in c. 55, 6 of the jealousy shown by the οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου toward Athens.

3. ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου: c. 2, 6. τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδωσαν, 'awarded the foremost place' i.e. virtually, because they nearly all agreed in allowing the second place to him, while each awarded the first to himself. Her. VIII 123 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

5. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψήφον ἔφερον, 'took each his ballot from off the altar' of Poseidon (Herod. VIII 123). The most solemn method of voting, designed to make the competitors voting give their judgment impartially as in the presence of the gods. Cp. *Per.* c. 32, 2; *Dem. de cor.* § 134 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψήφον ἔπραξε, *adv. Macart.* § 14 λαβόντες τὴν ψήφον καιομένων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου.

7. ἀπέφαιναν, 'declared,' one after another.

§ 2 l. 9. Diodorus also (XI 27, 3) says that he went to Sparta on invitation. According to Herod. (VIII 124) he went there θέλων τιμηθῆναι, ὅτι νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων.

11. θαλλοῦ sc. ἐλαίης, acc. to Herod. l.c.

12. τῶν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον, 'the finest of their chariots.' Herod. l.c. ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. The Athenian ambassadors remind the Lacedaemonians of the honour thus bestowed on their hero, Thuc. I 74, 1 μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων; cp. Diod. XI 27, 3 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβηθέντες μήποτε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κακὸν μέγα βουλευσῆται κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν διπλασιαῖσι δωρεαῖς τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία ἐληφότων.

13. τριακοσίους τῶν νέων: Herod. l.c. προέπεμψαν ἀνίοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιτῶν λογάδες, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὐραν τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μόνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιτῆται προέπεμψαν.

These three hundred so-called knights were a band of picked youths, chosen by three officers appointed for that purpose by the ephors, who served in the field as the king's body-guard, but, notwithstanding the title, they fought on foot, and, if they were mounted, used their horses only on a march, or in executing the king's commission. Müller's *Dorians* III 12 § 5, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* IV 3, *Hell.* V III 9.

πομπούς, 'as an escort of honour,' to the borders of Tegea.

14. Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων, 'during the celebration of the next Olympian games' i.e. those of B.C. 476, the first year of the 76th Olympiad.

15. *παρελθόντος*: c. 4, 1.

18. *ἐκείνον θεῶσθαι*: The story is not told by Herod., but 28 Pausanias (VIII 50, 3), in speaking of the presence of Philopoemen at the Nemean games and the applause he received there, adds: *τοιοῦτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυνθάνομαι συμβῆναι* 'καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον ('the spectators'); cp. Aelian *V.H.* XIII 43. *ἐπιδεικνύειν* κτλ., 'pointed him out to the visitors (from Sicily, etc.), while admiring and applauding him.'

20. *ὁμολογήσας . . . ἀπέχειν*, 'acknowledged that he was now reaping in full the fruit due to him for all his labours in behalf of Greece.' *ἀπέχειν* = 'to receive one's due,' or 'to receive in full payment'; cp. *Publ.* c. 14, 1 *ὡς οὖν ἀπείργαστο τελέως (ὁ νεὺς) καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον ἀπείχειν*, *Sol.* c. 22, 4 *τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέχει*, *Alex.* c. 27, 4 *χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . Φίλιππον ἀπέχειν ἐκπλεω τὴν δίκην*, *Aesch. de f. leg.* § 50 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνεγνώσθη (ἡ ἐπιστολή) 'ἀπέχετε' ἔφη 'τὴν ἀπόκρισιν'*, *Ev. Matth.* c. vi 2, 5, 16; *Ev. Luc.* c. vi 24, *Ep. Phil.* c. iv 18.

21. *τὸν αὐτῷ πονηθέντων*: the dative of the agent is very rare, except after the perfect and pluperfect passive, c. 15, 2.

## CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1 l. 1. *καὶ γάρ, etenim. εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι* κτλ., 'if we are to judge (i.e. as we may judge) by means of the sayings recorded of him.'

3. *ναύαρχος*, 'admiral of the fleet,' who was one of the ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

4. *οὐδὲν . . . ἐχρημάτιζεν*, 'transacted no business.' Cp. *Thuc.* I 87, 5; the middle (c. 21, 1) is used mostly of mercantile business, 'to make money,' as *Thuc.* VII 13, 3 *οἰόμενοι χρηματίζεισθαι μάλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι*.

5. *κατὰ μέρος* (ὁμοῦ): c. 15, 2.

6. *ἐπανεβάλλετο*, 'he used to put off from day to day.' Cp. *Herod.* I 91 *τρία ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν*, *Phalar. Ep.* 69 *ἐπεμψά σοι τὸ ἀργύριον οὐδ' ὅσον ἐπαναβαλόμενος. τὸ προσπίπτον*, 'any business that devolved upon him.'

7. *ἵνα . . . δοκῇ*, as a natural consequence of this mode of action, not as the object (opt.) of Them.

10. *ἐκπρόσοντας*, 'washed ashore,' c. 10, 5.

11. *περικειμένους*, *alligata habentes*, 'having round them,' 'wearing.' Cp. *Pelop.* c. 11, 1; c. 30, 4 *τὸν στέφανον δὲ πίνων περιέκειτο*, Herod. i 171 *περὶ τοῖς αὐχέσι περικείμενοι* (τὰς ἀσπίδας).

In purely classical Greek *κείμεαι* is the recognised *passive perfect* of *τίθεμαι*, *τέθειμαι* being the perf. middle: e.g. *ὁ τίθει νόμον τέθεικε*, *ἡ τίθεμένη πόλις νόμον τέθειται*, *ὁ τίθμενος* (pass.) *νόμος κείται*: so a father *τίθεται* ὄνομα παιδί, but *παιδί κείται* ὄνομα. See Shilleto on Thuc. i 37, 8 who quotes, as an exception belonging to the days of the decadence, Menander *fr. inc.* 65 *τῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα διατεθειμένῳ κακῶς*.

12. *ψάλλια*, 'bracelets,' a favourite ornament of the Persians, as also *στρεπτοὺς* (sc. *κύκλους*), *torques*, 'collars of twisted or linked metal,' Herod. iii 20, viii 113.

§ 21. 15. Cp. *Mor.* 185 c 'Ἀντιφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἐρώντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ καταφρονούντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακεύοντος "Ὁ μειράκιον" εἶπεν "ὁψὲ μὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐσχέκαμεν.'

16. *ὑπερφάνως κεχηρμένον* = *καταφρονήσαντα*.

18. *ὁψὲ μὲν κτλ.*, 'it has taken some time, but we have both at once come to our senses': in Themistocles' own case, because he had recovered from his passion.

20. *πλατάνῃ*, as being *ἀμφιλαφής*, 'wide-spreading.'

29 21. *χειμαζομένους*, 'when overtaken by a storm.' Cp. Aelian *var. hist.* ix 8.

23. *τοῦ Σεριφίου*, 'the Seriphian' of the story. Cp. Plat. *de rep.* p. 329 E: *τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἶδος ἔχει, ὅς τῳ Σεριφίῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι, ὅτι οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὢν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὐτ' ἐκείνος Ἀθηναῖος*: from whom Cicero *de sen.* § 8 borrows the story:—*Them. fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum, 'nec hercule' inquit 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses.'*

Herodotus (viii 125) gives a somewhat different version of the anecdote. Timodemus, an Athenian of no repute, being envious of the reception given to Them. at Sparta, said that the honours paid him were really paid to Athens, to which he replied *οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔων Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ' ἂν σὺ ὠνθρωπε ἔων Ἀθηναῖος*. Belbina was a small rocky island at the mouth of the Saronic gulf, about two miles south of Sunium. Seriphos is one of the smallest of the Cyclades, proverbial for its poverty and insignificance and the *borné* tone of its inhabitants (Cic. *de nat. d.* i § 88, Arist. *Ach.* 542, Aelian *hist. an.* iii 37); but it was one of the three island states which refused submission to Xerxes (Her. viii 46). It was used as a place of banishment by the Roman emperors, Juv. *Sat.* x 170.

26. Σερίφιος ὦν, i.q. *ei* Σερίφιος ἦν, G. MT. § 472. οὐτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος i.e. οὐτε σὺ, *ei* ἦσθα Ἀθηναῖος, ἐνδοξος ἂν ἐγένου.

Cobet *Mnemos.* N. S. vi p. 146 quotes in illustration the reply of Fabius to M. Livinus when he said 'mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentinum receperisti' (Cic. *de sen.* § 11), γελᾶσας οὖν ὁ Φάβιος 'ἀληθὴ λέγεις' εἶπεν 'εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον,' Plut. *Fab. Max.* c. 28, 1.

§ 3 l. 27. ἑτέρου, 'one of the other strategi,' with ref. to Themistocles.

28. τῇ πόλει with *χρήσιμον*.

30. ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, 'comparing one with the other closely.' ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ κτλ. : a fable (μῦθος, αἶνος). τὴν ἑσπερίαν, 'the day after the feast,' called ἐπίβδα, *repotia*, when the guests still continued their feasting.

31. ἐκείνη sc. ἡ ἑορτή.

35. ἐμοῦ μὴ γανομένης = *ei* μὴ ἐγὼ ἐγενόμην.

36. ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ; = οὐδαμοῦ ἂν ἦτε, 'you would have been nowhere' i.e. nobodies, meaning his fellow στρατηγοί.

§ 4 l. 37. τὸν νιόν sc. Cleophantus, c. 32, 1.

ἐντροφῶντα, 'behaving pettishly to, tyrannising over.' The verb *ἐντροφᾶν* aptly expresses the tyranny exercised by a spoiled child over his mother.

It is a favourite word with Plutarch: cp. *Agis* c. 9, 5, *Mor.* 401 π ἐντροφῶν τῷ ἱερῷ, *Pel.* c. 30, 4 Πελοπίδα οὕτω μὲν οὐχ ἐντροφύσσει, *Arist. c. Cat. ma. comp.* c. 1, 3 τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείαν... δι' ὅγκον ᾗδῃ καὶ δυνάμει ἐντροφῶσαν τοῖς ἀρχεῖν ἀξιούσιν, *Sull.* c. 5, 5 τὸν Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶνέσαν ἐντροφύσαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, *Eum.* c. 15, 3 τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντροφῶντες, and (in the passive) *Pomp.* c. 40, 8 ἐντροφώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυσκολαίνων, *Lucian dial. m.* 1 ἐλευθέρους ἀνδράσιν ἐντροφῶντες. The story is told also in *Cat. ma.* c. 8, 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος 'πάντες' εἶπεν 'ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρχοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δ' αἱ γυναῖκες.' τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετεννεγμένων ἀποφθεγμάτων' ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ νιού διὰ τῆς μητρὸς 'ὦ γυναῖ' εἶπεν 'Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἀρχοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σὺ, σοῦ δ' ὁ νιός, ὥστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἐξουσίας, δι' ἣν ἀνόητος ὢν πλείστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται'; also *Mor.* 1 c, 189 d.

38. δι' ἐκείνην, 'by means of her.'

41. ἰδίος τις, *singularis*, 'original,' 'peculiar,' different from everybody else.

Cp. *Mor.* 57 Ε ἰδίος ἄνθρωπος, πάντα πρῶς φέρει, πάντα ἀλύπως, *Aem. Paul.* c. 87, 2 ἐνιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον ἱστοροῦσι, c. 88, 2 κάκεινο δ' ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, *Fab. Max.* c. 1, 7 τοὺς ἰδίον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων, *Marc. c.* 7, 4 νικῶσι νίκην ἰδίαν τε καὶ τρόπῳ περιττὴν καὶ παράδοxon, *Cat. ma.* c. 25, 1 ἐν παντὶ φιλοτιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἰδίος.

42. ἐν πᾶσι, 'amongst all men,' not 'in all things.' χωρίον πιπράσκων, 'when he put up an estate for sale.'

43. ἐκέλευε sc. τὸν κήρυκα, *praeconem*. καί, among other disadvantages.

44. τῶν μνημένων, gen. of the divided whole with τὸν ἐπικεικῇ and τοῦ πλουσίου. The story is introduced differently by Cic. *de off.* II § 71 *Themistocles cum consuleretur, utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato diviti filiam collocaret, 'Ego vero' inquit 'malo virum, qui pecunia egeat, quam pecuniam quae viro.'* Cp. Valer. Max. VII 2 ext. 9.

46. ἀνδρός sc. δεόμενα.

## CHAPTER XIX

30 § 1 l. 1. μὲν οὖν, 'so then,' in concluding one subject, and passing on to a fresh one, c. 2, 4 n.

2. γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων, 'when he had done with his famous exploits,' cp. c. 2, 1 ἐν σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος, *Cał. ma.* c. 1, 7 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. πράξεων may refer to the honours he received at Sparta and to the Olympic games, referred to c. 17 *ad fin.*

3. ἐπεχείρει ἀνοικοδομεῖν, 'he took in hand the rebuilding,' Thuc. I 89, 3 τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχεία εἰσθήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτῶκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιήσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. Cp. *Lysand.* c. 14, 5, *Plat. Gorg.* p. 455 D (loquitur Gorgias) ὁσθα γὰρ δήπου ὅτι τὰ νεώρια ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἡ τῶν λιμένων κατασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συμβουλῆς γέγονε.

5. ἱστορεῖ: c. 1, 3.

Θεόπομπος: Theopompus of Chios, the greatest of Isocrates' pupils, one of the lost historians of the fourth century, was born about B.C. 380. He was twice exiled from his native country. Besides a number of ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι, the most successful of which appears to have been his panegyric on Mausolus, prince of Caria, he wrote in 12 books a continuation of Thucydides' history from B.C. 411 to the battle of Onidus B.C. 394. But his most voluminous and greatest work was his *Φιλιππικά* or History of Philip, father of Alexander the Great (B.C. 360 to B.C. 336) in 58 books which embraced in digressions all the contemporary history down to the king's death. The work, when these digressions were omitted, was reduced by Philip III of Macedonia to 16 books. His subject was treated in an intensely rhetorical spirit, seeking everywhere for effect rather than strict truth. Prof. Mahaffy, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. I Pt. II p. 422, calls him 'a self-conscious, rhetorical, Isocratic ape of the great historian Herodotus.' See Introduction to *Timoleon* xviii-xxi.

χρήμασι πέσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους: so also *Andoc.* 3, 38 λαθόντες δὲ Πελοποννησίους ἐτείχισαμεν τὰ τεῖχη,

πριάμενοι δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ δοῦναι τούτων δίκην, βιασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατειργασάμεθα. Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 330 n. 1 remarks that, the statement of Theopompus is not inconsistent with the narrative of Thucydides, but the latter either had not heard or did not believe it, although it is not improbable in itself.

'Sparta shared the jealousy and uneasiness of the allies at the fortification of Athens, and would have been pleased to see all the other Grecian cities as well systematically defenceless like herself.' Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 327. Thuc. i 90, 1 says Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεῖα, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μὴτ' ἐκείνους μὴτ' ἄλλον μηδὲνα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεόν των ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, δὲ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. Cp. Nepos *Them.* c. 6 namque Laedæmonii causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones quia negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munia quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati.

7. οἱ πλείστοι sc. ἱστοροῦσι, above all Thucydides, whose authority must outweigh that of all others put together.

παρακρουσάμενος, 'by outwitting, misleading them,' properly said of a seller who strikes too much off from the top of the measure, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς ἰσάντας ('weighing') τι ἢ μετροῦντας κρούειν τὰ μέτρα καὶ διασείειν ἔνεκα τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν (*Harporcation*). Aelian (*Var. Hist.* c. 47) describes Them. as κλέπτοντα τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τείχιον.

Cp. Alcib. c. 17, 5 ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν ἔτυχεν ὧν ἤξιον, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας, *Thes.* c. 26, 1 καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον λαβεῖν, c. 10, 3, *Sol.* c. 30, 2 τοὺς πολίτας παρακρουόμενος, *Fab. Max.* c. 19, 8 ὀλίγου παρακρουσάμενος ἐσφῆλε τὸν ἄνδρα, *Comp. Alc.* c. *Coriol.* c. 2, 1; *Lys.* c. 8, 3; *Brut.* c. 50, 8; *Dem. Lept.* § 74 ὅσῳ τὸ νικῶντας τοῦ παρακρουσαμένου πράττειν ὁπίου ἐντιμότερον, τοσούτῳ κάλλιον Κόνωνα τὰ τεῖχη στήσαι Θημιστοκλέους, *Macart.* § 33 οὐκ ἐνίκησεν ἀλλὰ παρεκρούσατο, *Ol.* ii § 5, *Phil.* ii § 23, § 30, *de Rhod. lib.* § 8, § 20, § 74, *Timocr.* § 79, *Plat. Lys.* p. 215 c.

8. γάρ: c. 11, 2. ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος, *legationis titulum sibi ascribens*, 'assuming the title of an ambassador,' whereas his real object was to overreach and deceive the Spartans. Cp. *Demetr.* c. 42, 6 ἔχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσωνύμιαν, *Timol.* c. 36, 3 πολλάκις ἐφῆ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι βούλομενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν ἐπεγράψατο τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν, where see the editor's note.

9. ὅτι τειχίζουσι, vivid construction. Cp. Thuc. i 91, 1.

10. κατηγοροῦντος sc. ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ. Polyarchus is probably to be identified with Polycritus mentioned by Herod. (viii 92). Thuc. (i 90, 1) speaks only of the allies generally and (c. 91, 1) τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων. The strained relations between Athens and Aegina give Plutarch's account the air of probability, but Corinth also, her other maritime rival, had taken the alarm.

13. ἐμβάλλον χρόνον, like διατρίβας ἐμποίων, c. 16, 3.

15. ἀντ' αὐτοῦ . . . ὑπάρχειν, 'to be at their disposal in his stead' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cp. Thuc. I 91, 2 *περὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων) ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὥς ἡκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφείναι πρὶν ἢν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν.

16. δ καὶ συνέβη, 'and this in fact happened' i.e. his expectations were realised. γνόντες . . . τὸ ἀληθές, 'when they had ascertained the truth' from Them. himself, who dropped the mask and avowed the stratagem practised upon them.

18. ἀδήλως, 'secretly.' Cp. Thuc. I 92 ὁργὴν μὲν φανεράν οἱ ἐποιούντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο.

§ 2 l. 18. ἐκ τούτου, 'after this,' B.C. 477. Cp. Isocr. *de perm.* 307, Diodor. XI 41.

19. τὸν Πειραιᾶ, here in its widest sense, 'the peninsula formed by the steep height of Munychia, from which the rocky land stretches to the sea like an indented leaf and forms three natural basins with narrow entrances,' Curtius *Hist. Gr.* II p. 611.

Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in the archonship of Themistocles towards the enlargement of the Piræus; see Thucyd. I 93, 2 *ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν—ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν—νομίζων τὸ τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφύεις*, i.e. Zea, Munychia, and Piræus proper, the largest of the three.

τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφύταν, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' See my n. to *Timol.* c. 20, 3 and cp. Nep. *Them.* c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piræi portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret.*

21. ἀρμοσσιόμενος, 'endeavouring to unite.'

22. τρόπον τινά, 'in some measure.'

23. ἀντιπολιτευόμενος, 'pursuing an opposite policy to.' Thuc. (II 16) speaks of the reluctance of the inhabitants of Attica to give up their old habits and associations.

24. λέγεται i.e. by the rationalistic interpreters of legends. *πραγματευόμενοι . . . ἀποσπάσαι*, 'exerting themselves to draw them away.' Cp. *Mor.* 709 D *πραγματευόμενος ἀρχὴν τινα φίλας δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ καλούμένῳ πρὸς τὸν καλούντα.*

27. φυτεύοντας, 'planting,' chiefly with olive trees. *διδοσαν*, 'spread abroad.' Cp. c. 10, 1 cr. not.

28. **ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας**: The legend is thus given by 31 Apollodorus *Bibl.* III 14, 1:—ἐπὶ τούτου (Cecrops) ἔδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν αἷς ἐμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριάλῃ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφηγε θάλασσαν ('a salt spring'), ἦν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι . . . μετὰ δὲ τούτου ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσίῳ δέλκνυται. γενομένης δὲ ξιρίδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας . . . ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρῶτον τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσεν. Cp. Herod. VIII 55. The group in the west pediment of the Parthenon represents the contest between the deities and the moment when the victory of the goddess was declared.

29. **τὴν μορίαν**, 'the sacred olive' in the Acropolis; the name was afterwards given to all the olives that grew in the precincts of temples and were state property, as opposed to *ἰδία ἐλαία*. **τοῖς δικασταῖς**: according to one legend, the gods, according to another, Cecrops or Cranaus or Erechtheus.

§ 31. 30. **Ἀριστοφάνης**: *Eq.* 815 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ (sc. τῇ πόλει) τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν, in a double sense, 'when she was sitting at breakfast, he kneaded for her the Piraeus as a dainty dish,' and 'he kneaded it (i.e. attached it closely) to her.' It is in the latter sense that Plutarch objects to the expression, on the ground that the Piraeus was rather a principal part of Athens than a mere adjunct. So, according to Thucyd. I 93, 5, Them. himself τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὡφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἀνὸς πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι i.e. 'he considered the Piraeus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world with their fleet.'

32. **ἐξήψε**, 'fastened it to,' 'made it depend on.'

33. **δοῦν . . . ἀρίστων**, 'by which means he made the people (*plebs*) powerful against the nobles (*optimates*). The development of the navy was favourable to democracy, because those who served in it belonged to the lower class, who were now therefore the real support of the state, instead of the hoplites, who came of the well-to-do class. Plut. has in his mind's eye the remarks of Plato *legg.* IV 707 A: cp. also Arist. *Pol.* p. 1304<sup>a</sup> 22 ὁ ναυτικὸς δόχλος γενόμενος αἰτίος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ισχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν, and see Grote *Hist.* V p. 67 ff.



35. *κελευστάς*, *portisculos* or *hortatores*, 'commanders of the rowers,' the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where there were as many as 175 rowers, as was the case in the Greek trireme.

36. *διὸ καί*, because of the connexion between democracy and sea-life.

*τὸ βῆμα . . . ἀπέστρεψαν*, 'the thirty made the *βῆμα* in the Pnyx, which had been constructed to look towards the sea, face the land.'

What importance might be attached to such apparently insignificant circumstances is shown by Plut. *C. Gracch.* c. 5 2: τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ('the senate') ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν (λέγεται) δημηγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἔξ ἐκείνου, μικρὰ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταβῆσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκὼν τρόπον τινα τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας i.e. 'whereas all the popular leaders who preceded him faced the senate and the comitium, he is recorded as the first who turned his face the other way to the forum while haranguing the people, and he continued to do so from that time; and by a small deviation and shifting of posture he stirred a great question, and in a way transformed the government from an aristocratical to a democratical form, as by this new attitude intimating that the orators should address themselves to the many and not to the Senate.'

The Pnyx, which was the usual place for the assembly of the people (*ἐκκλησία*) in the time of Thucydides (viii 97, 1) and Aristophanes (*Ach.* 20, *Eq.* 42, 750-1, *Vesp.* 31), was situated in a hollow against the side of a hill  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile to the west of the Acropolis and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a mile S.W. of the Areopagus. It was semicircular in form, and consisted of two terraces, an upper and smaller on the South and a lower and larger one on the North, separated by a perpendicular wall of solid rock, 12 to 15 feet high, which formed the chord of the arc, the enclosure of the arc to the North being a huge sort of wall of Cyclopean masonry. It was in the lower terrace that the great bulk of the ecclesia assembled. The original bema or platform was probably not far from its outer boundary, so that the speaker had the greater part of the assembly before him, rising gradually upwards towards the southern wall; thus in fact resembling an inverted theatre, the audience part rising up to, instead of from, the chord of the semicircle, and the orator, instead of being in the middle of the chord like an actor, taking his place in the middle of the arc, so that he faced the sea, that is, the south. The alteration mentioned by Plutarch, whose reason however for it is too absurd to be accepted, was the making of a new bema, facing in a contrary direction to the older one. This bema, the identical one from which Demosthenes spoke, is no other than that which still exists in the centre of the back wall of the lower terrace, out of which it is hewn, facing towards the country or north. Dyer, *Ancient Athens* p. 541, supposes that the original Pnyx was defaced by the Lacedaemonians or the Thirty Tyrants, and that when the new Pnyx was made after their overthrow by Thrasybulus, the reversal of the bema may have been suggested by the convenience of the rock wall for making one, and the more theatre-like arrangement of the whole, by which the speaker would be placed in the middle of the chord of the arc and so have a greater number of his audience within reach of his voice.

38. οἱ τριάκοντα, 'the Thirty,' usually called 'the thirty tyrants,' to whom the government of Athens was entrusted by the Lacedaemonian admiral Lysander after his capture of the city in B.C. 404.

40. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* p. 1303<sup>b</sup>, 11 μάλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν κατ' ἄστυ.

## CHAPTER XX

§ 1. Cp. Arist. c. 22, 2, Diodor. xi c. 42, Cic. *de off.* III § 49.

'This celebrated story has long ceased' says Grote *Hist. Gr.* v p. 27 note 2 'to be received as a matter of history. It is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Herodotus, as well as with all the conditions of the time: Pagasae was Thessalian, and as such hostile to the Greek fleet rather than otherwise: the fleet seems to have never been there: moreover we may add, that taking matters as they then stood, when the fear from Persia was not at all terminated, the Athenians would have lost more than they gained by burning the ships of the other Greeks, so that Themistocles was not very likely to conceive the scheme, nor Aristides to describe it in the language put into his mouth. The story is probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age, who wished to contrast justice with expediency and Aristides with Themistocles—as well as to bestow at the same time a panegyric upon Athens in the days of her glory.'

Θεμιστοκλῆς δέ, as opp. to the later oligarchs, c. 19, 3.

3. κατήρεν, *appulit*, 'put into port.' Pagasae was a port on the Pagasaeon bay of the coast of Thessaly, south of Iolcos. Cic. *l.c.*, in telling the story, speaks of Gytheum and of the Lacedaemonian instead of the Grecian fleet, but the plan in that case would not have been either expedient or practicable. Mark the distinction between the tenses—κατήρεν, 'had put in,' and διεχέλμαζε, 'was passing the winter.'

9. ἂν δοκιμάσῃ, 'should he' approve of it.' The καὶ with which ἂν forms a crasis belongs to περαινέιν.

11. τὸ νεώριον here = τὸ ναύσταθμον, 'the ships assembled in the roadstead.' ἐμπρῆσαι: Plut. *Arist.* c. 22, 2 adds:—οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἀπάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Cp. Cic. *l.c.* quo facto frangi Lacedaemoniorum opes necesse esset. τῶν Ἑλλήνων: c. 7, 2.

16. παύσασθαι sc. τῆς πράξεως ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν. 32

§ 2 l. 17. ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις, 'at special meetings of the (Delphian) Amphictyony or Sacred League.'

18. εἰσηγούμενων ὅπως, 'introducing a motion that.' Elsewhere εἰσχεῖσθαι is followed either by the infinitive as *Lysand.* c. 15, 2, or by the accusative and infinitive as *Publ.* c. 16, 7, or by the objective acc. as *Alcib.* c. 20, 2 εἰσγγήσατο γνώμην ὅτι τρόπῳ πολεμητέον ἐστί, *Caes.* c. 30, 2, *Dion.* c. 48, 2,

*Lys. comp. c. Sull. c. 3, 2 τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμους, Ti. Gr. c. 13, 2, Anton. c. 31, 2 τοῦτον ἅπαντες εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν γάμον.*

19. αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι, G. § 283, 4, Ruth. § 349.

21. **Θετταλοὺς**: The twelve members of the league were the Phocians, Locrians, Dolopes, Oetaeans, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Malians, Magnetes, Perrhoebians, Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians. Of these the Thessalians and Thebans had sided with the Persians, the Argives (who were members as Dorians only, and, as such, were represented by Sparta) had remained neutral. The other members who joined the Medes were the Locrians, Dolopes, Perrhoebians, Oetaeans, Achaeans, Malians, Magnetes, Boeotians (except those of Thespieae and Plataea). See Herod. (vii 132).

22. **ἐτι δέ**, 'and besides,' c. 10, 3; c. 29, 1.

23. **παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων**, 'should have complete control over the votes.'

26. **Πυλαγόρων**: the *Πυλαγόροι* (or *-ροι*) (*Πύλαι* = *Θερμοπύλαι*, *ἀγέιρω*), the deputies of the Greek states at the Amphictyonic Council.

27. **τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις**: Herodotus mentions Greeks from 36 states as having taking part in the Persian war. The list given by Pausanias (v 23, 1) of the nations inscribed upon the statue of Jupiter at Olympia contains 27 (Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* p. 11 Oxf. 1882). In the remarkable inscription, brought to light in 1856, on the bronze stand of three intertwined serpents, which supported the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi by the Greeks after Plataea (Herod. ix 81, Thuc. i 132, 2 *τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνων*), but destroyed by the Phocians in the Sacred War (Pausan. x 13, 5), which was removed to his new capital by Constantine and placed in the hippodrome there (the modern *Atmeidan*, where it still remains, Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* c. xvii), there is a list of thirty-one names. These are the Lacedaemonians, Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Aeginetans, Megarians, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plataeans, Thespians, Mycenaean, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcidians, Styrians, Eleans, Potidaeans, Leucadians, Anactorians, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambraciots, and Lepreans.

29. **δενὸν οὖν sc. ἐστὶ** c. 13, 2.

30. **ἐκσπόνδου**, 'excluded from the league.' According to Herodotus (vii 132), the Greeks who took up arms to resist the Persians swore an oath that they would devote the medising states to the god at Delphi with their goods and persons, *δοιοὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφεας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἔοντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὐ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. ἐπὶ ταῖς . . . πόλεσιν ἔσται*, 'shall be in the power of the two or three greatest cities.' Cp. Thuc. ii 84, 2 *τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐνόμψεν εἶναι*, iv 29, 4 *ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἂν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν*, vii 12, 3 *αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις*, Antiphon *de caede Her.* § 3 *ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις εἶναι*, 'to be at the mercy of.'

32. ἐκ τούτου, *propter hoc*. μὲν οὖν: c. 2, 4.

33. προσέκρουσε, 'gave offence to,' 'made an enemy of,' lit. 'knocked up against.'

προσσκρούειν means either (1) *offendere in aliqua re*, 'to give offence to,' or (2) *offendi*, 'to take offence at.' (1) *Thes.* c. 2, 2 λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκρούσαι πολίταις, *Fab. Maz.* c. 26, 4 προσέκρουσεν ἤδη πολλοῖς ὡς δύσκολος ἀνὴρ, *Flam.* c. 17, 1, *Philop.* c. 18, 2, *Eum.* c. 2, 1, *Sull.* c. 6, 4, *Ti. Gr.* c. 14, 2, *Cat. mi.* c. 36, 3; c. 56, 3, *Sol.* c. 16, 2, *Ages.* c. 4, 3, *Public.* c. 7, 4 παντάσῃ προσκρούσας ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχήν, *Mor.* 95 c ἐνὶ ὑπουργοῦντα προσσκρούειν πολλοῖς, 143 ε φεύγειν τὸ προσσκρούειν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναίκῃ τὸν ἀνδρα, *Dem. Mid.* § 206, *Ayat.* § 7, *def. l.* § 205 ἀ ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ προσέκρουσεν, *Aesch. Tim.* § 110 προσκρούσας τι τούτῳ καὶ παροξυνθεὶς, *Dinarchus Dem.* § 99 ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λοιδορῶνται καὶ προσκρούωσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐξεπίτηδες, (2) *Caé. ma.* c. 23, 1 φιλοσοφίᾳ προσκεκρουκώς, *Dem. Tim.* § 6 προσέκρουσ' ἀνθρώπῳ πονηρῷ, φ' τελευταῖωσ' ὅλη προσέκρουσεν ἡ πόλις, *Mid.* § 61 ὅτι τῷ προσέκρουσε καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἦν, *Aristog.* § 41 προπετῶς ἅπασι προσκρούων.

τὸν Κίωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς: cp. *Cim.* c. 16, 2 πύξθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἥδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπολε-  
μουμένῳ καὶ τούτων ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ  
κρατεῖν βουλομένων. For προάγειν, cp. c. 7, 2, *Cam.* c. 38, 2  
βουλόμενος ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν . . . ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων  
προῆγεν, *Polyb.* XII 13, 6 τοιοῦτον ἀνδρα προῆγον, *XVIII* 43, 3  
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμων καὶ προῆγον.

34. ἀντίπαλον, 'as a counterpoise.' Cp. *Nic.* c. 11, 4.

## CHAPTER XXI

§ 11. 1. καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις i.e. not to the Lacedaemonians only. The Greek fleet, which after the battle of Salamis had proceeded as far as Andros in chase of the Persians, had stayed among the Cyclades to punish the islanders, who had aided the barbarians. Them. seized this opportunity of enriching himself at their expense.

2. χρηματίζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν sc. τῶν συμμάχων, 'trying to get money from them by extortion,' as *Isocr. Hel.* § 6 οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄλλου μέλει πλὴν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, not 'making money by them,' as *Plato Soph.* p. 225 ε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐρίδων χρηματίζόμενον, *Arist. Pol.* p. 1286<sup>b</sup> 14, 8 ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν.

Herodotus also (*VIII* c. 112) says that Themistocles obtained money from the islanders λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, but in the following story Plutarch places him in too unfavourable a light, because Andros was besieged by the Greek fleet and not by Themistocles only. Yet he threatened the others that he would bring the Greek fleet upon them if they did not send him the amount he required. Cp. [*Plut.*] *de Herod. mal.* c. 40.

3. *οἷα*, 'as a case in point,' obj. to *εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι*. The Greeks laid siege to Andros when the Andrians refused to pay the contribution demanded from them.

4. *ἀκοῦσαι* sc. *πρὸς Ἀνδρίων*, 'was told by them in reply.'

33 6. *Βίαν* . . . *Ἀπορίαν*: in Herodotus VIII 111 *Ἀναγκαλίην* . . . *Ἀμυχανίην*.

8. *ὅφ' ὃν κωλύεσθαι*, the infin. in a dependent relative clause in indirect discourse by assimilation, G. *MT.* § 755. The Greeks did not get the money eventually, but *ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷοι τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἀνδρον, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα*.

§ 2 l. 9. *Τιμοκρέων*: Timocreon was a lyric poet and also an athlete of renown (Athenae. x p. 415 f) of Ialysus in Rhodes, whence he was banished on suspicion of *medising*, and in his exile neglected by Themistocles, who had formerly been his guest-friend. He quarrelled with Simonides also, and the two poets gave vent to their anger in recriminatory verses. The following epigram inscribed upon his tomb is supposed to have been written by Simonides:—

πολλὰ πίων καὶ πολλὰ φαγών καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν  
ἀνθρώπους κείμει Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.

10. *καθάπτεται*, *perstringit*, *incessit*, 'assails,' lit. 'fastens on.' Cp. Thuc. vi 16, 1 *ἀναγκὴ ἐντεύθεν ἀρξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μου Νικίας καθήψατο*, *ib.* 82, 1, Plato *Crit.* p. 52 A *ὥς ἂν μου δικαίως καθάπτουσιν*. *πικρότερον*, 'with excessive acrimony.'

11. *ὥς* . . . *διαπραξαμένου κατελθεῖν* . . . *προσμένου*, parataxis, 'for leaving him to his fate though a friend etc., while he brought about the restoration of others from exile.' Cp. Dem. *de f. l.* § 332 *διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι λυμαινομένους τοῖς πράγμασι*, *Timocr.* § 200 *ταῦτα πράττων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ*.

12. *κατελθεῖν*: c. 11, 1. The victory of the Greeks had been followed by a revolution throughout the islands in which the hitherto dominant party that favoured the Persians were expelled. The one mentioned here must have been later than 480 B.C., since it does not agree sufficiently with the narrative of Herodotus VIII 111 ff., 121 ff. The lines were probably composed between 476 B.C. and the year of Themistocles' banishment.

14. *δι' ἀργύριον* may imply either that he (Themistocles) did not favour his (Timocreon's) restoration because he did not receive money from him, or that he had received a bribe from others to prevent it. The former is probably meant. Timocreon perhaps hoped that the fleet would have sailed to Rhodes to favour his party.

15. The fragment is composed in dactylo-epitrite verse, consisting of trochaic dipodias and dactylic tripodias with base: at the end of the epode is a trochaic tripodia (*ithyphallicus*) with base.

The pride and arrogance of Pausanias are well known; Xanthippus (c. 10, 5) perhaps incurred the poet's censure because of his impeachment of Miltiades. Both he and Leoty-chides, the Spartan king, were commanders at the battle of Mycale. The former succeeded Themistocles as commander of the Athenian fleet in B.C. 479; the latter was banished to Tegea B.C. 469 for receiving bribes from the Aleuadae of Thes-saly (Herod. vi 72).

16. *ἐγὼ δέ*: the *δέ* in apodosis is common enough in Homer. Observe the synizesis in *ἐπαινέω*, *Τιμοκρέοντα*, *πλέων*, *ὑπόπλεος*, and the crasis in *δὴ ἤχθαρε*, *μὴ ὦραν*, the Doric *ā* for *η* in *Λατώ*, *Ἀριστείδαν* and for *ω* in *ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν*, *γαῖ* for *γε*, *τύ* for *σύ*, *ὑπόπλεος* for *ὑπόπλεως*, *τοί* for *οί*.

17. *ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν*: cp. Hom. *Od.* xi 323 *Ἀθηνῶν ἱερῶν*.

18. *ἔνα λῶστον*, 'above all others best.' Cp. Virg. *Aen.* ii 426 *iustissimus unus qui fuit in Teucris*. *ἤχθαρε Λατώ*, as a liar, because she is herself, like her son, by preference *ἀψευδής* (*Blass*).

19. *προδότην*, 'a traitor' i.e. to the poet himself.

§ 3 l. 20. *κυβᾶλικοῖσι*, 'suitable to a *κόβαλος*,' 'knavish,' 'rascally.'

21. *Ἰάλυσον*: *Iālȳsus* was one of three old Doric cities in the island of Rhodes, and a member of the Dorian hexapolis. Thuc. viii 44, 2, Herod. ii 182. For *κατὰ γε*, cp. c. 11, 6 n. The verse requires one syllable to make it correspond to the 3d line of the strophe.

22. *λαβών* i.e. from the poet's enemies. *ἔβα εἰς ὀλεθρον*, *abūt in malam rem*, implying a wish that bad luck might go with him i.e. the poet's adversary.

24. *ὑπόπλεος*, 'filled in an underhand way.' *Ἴσθμοί*, 'at the Isthmian festival,' c. 5, 2. Cp. *Ποταμοῖ Arist.* c. 27, 4.

*πανδοκεύς*, an expression sufficiently insulting in itself, the occupation of 'innkeeper' being looked down upon.

The context shows that some act of stinginess is charged to Themistocles (*ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχω*), possibly on occasion of the adjudication of the prizes at the Isthmus (c. 17), when he entertained the strategi and other Greeks present in such a manner as to incur ridicule.

25. *μὴ ὦραν Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι*, 'that Themistocles may come to no good end,' 'may not live to see next year.'

Cp. the phrase *μὴ ὦρασαν ἴκοιο* and Arist. *Lys.* 391. It may mean also 'that no heed might be taken of Themistocles': cp. Tyrtaeus 10, 11 *ἀνδρὸς τοι ἄλωμένου οὐδεμὶ ὥρη γίγνεται*.

§ 4 l. 27. *ἀναπεπταμένη*, lit. 'spread out' (c. 8, 2), hence fig. *protervus*, 'bare-faced,' 'unreserved.' Cp. *Mor.* 139 ε *μέμψει καὶ παρρησίᾳ ἀναπεπταμένη*, 712 λ *ἢ τε πρὸς τὰ σκόμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας εὐχέρεια δεινῶς κατάκορος καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη*, 1050 ο *τῇ κακίᾳ . . . ἀναπεπταμένην παρρησίαν δίδωσιν*, Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 240 ε *παρρησίᾳ κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην χρωμένον*.

34 31. *Μούσα τοῦδε . . . τίθει*, 'make this song famous': trochaic dimeters, the two first catalectic; *μέλεος* (with synzesis) depends upon *κλέος*.

33. *ὥς ἑοικὸς* sc. *ἐστί*, 'as is fitting.'

34. *ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν*, 'to have been exiled for medising,' c. 2, 6; c. 7, 3; c. 24, 3. The complaint of the poet against Them. is that he did not restore him amongst others from exile.

36. *αἰτίαν ἔσχε* = *ἤτις ἰδθῇ*, hence used with the infin. without article. Cp. c. 10, 5.

'This accusation of treason brought against Themistocles at Athens, prior to his ostracism, and at the instigation of the Lacedaemonians, is mentioned by Diodorus xi 54. Thucydides and Plutarch take notice only of the second accusation, *after* his ostracism. But Diodorus has made his narrative confused, by supposing the first accusation preferred at Athens to have come after the full detection of Pausanias and exposure of his correspondence; whereas these latter events, coming after the first accusation, supplied new proofs before unknown, and thus brought on the second, after Themistocles had been ostracised. But Diodorus has preserved to us the important notice of this first accusation at Athens, followed by trial, acquittal and temporary glorification of Themistocles—and preceding his ostracism. The indictment stated by Plutarch to have been preferred against Themistocles by Leobotas, son of Alcmaeon (c. 23), at the instance of the Spartans, probably relates to the first accusation at which Themistocles was acquitted. For when Themistocles was arraigned after the discovery of Pausanias, he did not choose to stay, nor was there any actual trial; it is not therefore likely that the name of the accuser would be preserved.' *OSORE Hist. Gr.* v p. 377 ed. 1.

*ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν*, 'composed these lines on him.' Cp. *Mor.* 186 β *Ἀσχυλὸν ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον*, *Dem.* c. 1, 1 ὁ γράψας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον, Plat. *Phaed.* p. 61 β *εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα ποιήματα*. So in Latin, Cic. *de off.* i § 28 *quod est in philosophis dictum*.

38. *οὐκ ἄρα*, 'not after all,' 'not, as it appears.' The metre is iambic and trochaic.

39. *ῥηκιατόμει* = *ῥρκια ἔτεμνε* (cp. *foedus icere*), 'made a solemn treaty with.' *ῥῥα γὰρ ἔτεμνον, τούτεστιν ἐθυσίαζον, ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥρκοις καὶ διαλλαγαῖς* (*Koräes*).

40. ἐντί, Doric form of εἰσί (ἐσ-ντί).

41. οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνᾳ κόλουρις, 'I am not the only animal with a brush,' a slang name for 'a fox.' Liddell-Scott translate 'that has lost its tail.'

## CHAPTER XXII

§ 1 l. 2. ἡδέως . . . προσιεμένων, 'gladly giving ear to,' 'admitting': cp. Herod. I 75 τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι, VI 123 οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολήν, Plato *Phaed.* p. 97 B τούτον (τὸν τρόπον τῆς μεθόδου) οὐδαμῇ προσίεμαι.

4. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'in the popular assembly,' *Per.* c. 18.

5. τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας (c. 16, 1), 'those who were offended' with him for so frequently mentioning his services. τί κοπιᾶτε . . . πᾶσχοιτες, 'why are you weary of being so often benefited by the same men?' Cp. *Mor.* 541 E, 812 B.

8. εἰσάμενος=ἰδρύσας, 'by building,' a poetic and archaic aor., from the root ἐδ-, of which ἔω is the present in use: see Veitch's *Greek Verbs* p. 259 s.v. ἔω. Thuc. (III 58, 5) θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν εἰσαμένων (ιερά θεῶν) καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε, Herod. I 66, 1 τῷ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι.

9. Ἀριστοβούλῃν, 'best counsellor.' ὥς: c. 14, 2. G. § 277, 6 note 2.

11. πλησίον: this clause is loosely connected with the relative clause preceding. Μελίτῃ, a deme in the tribe Cecropis, S.W. of the Inner Ceramicus. It contained several temples as well as houses of distinguished men, Dyer *Ancient Athens* p. 97 ff.

12. οὐ, ubi. τῶν θανατουμένων, 'of executed criminals.'

13. οἱ δῆμοι, 'the public executioners.' *Cic.* c. 22, 2 γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντιον τῷ δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, Plat. *legg.* p. 872 B ὁ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμιος . . . θανατωσάτω, Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* IV p. 221. προβάλλουσι, 'fling away' without interment.

14. τῶν ἀπαγχονμένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων, 'of those who from time to time hang themselves and whose bodies are taken down,' or, as Fuhr-Sintenis, 'the culprits who are from time to time punished by hanging,' but not (as Clough, Langhorne, Engelmann and others) 'who have been strangled and otherwise put to death.' For this technical meaning of καθαιρεῖν, *suspensum a patibulo demere*, cp. *Mor.* p. 253 E τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτὴν διδάξασα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλέσθαι τὸν βρόχον, ὥς ᾔσθετο τεθνηκυῖαν,



καθεῖλε καὶ κατεκάλυψεν, *Agis* c. 20, 4 τὴν μητέρα νεκρὰν . . . ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κρεμαμένην . . . αὐτῇ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς συγκαθεῖλε, *Luke* xxiii 53 (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξε συνδόνι, *Polyb.* i 86, 6 ἐκείνον μὲν καθεῖλον, τοῦτον δ' ἀνέθεσαν ζῶντα, *Joseph. B. J.* 4, 5, 2 τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου καθαιρεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν.

*Plato* (*legg.* ix p. 878 c) proposes a special mark of infamy for those who commit suicide without any apparent ground; δὲς ἂν ἐαυτὸν κτείνει, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης ('natural death') βίᾳ ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, μήτε πόλεως ταξάσης δίκη μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῃ προσπεσούσῃ τύχῃ ἀναγκασθεὶς μὴδὲ αἰσχύνῃς τινὸς μεταλαβὼν ἀβίου ('making life untenable'), ἀργίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας δειλίᾳ ἐαυτῷ δίκην ἀδικῶν ἐπιθῇ—τάφους εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρείσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόνας μὴδὲ μεθ' ἑνὸς ξυντάφου, εἶτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὁρίοις μερῶν τῶν ὅσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνώνυμα θάπτειν ἀκελεῖς αὐτοὺς μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους. *Aeschin. Ctesiph.* § 244 says of such:—ἰάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν.

15. ἐκφέρουσιν, indefinite subject.

§ 2 l. 15. καὶ with εἰκόνιον, 'a small portrait-statue also.'

16. ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς, *nostra aetate*, 'still in my time.' Cp. *Publ.* c. 19, 6, *Sol. c. Publ. Comp.* c. 1, 2. So οἱ καθ' αὐτὸν are a man's 'contemporaries,' *Nic.* c. 3, 2, *Alc.* c. 1, 2, *Ti. Gr.* c. 4, 1.

17. φαίνεται . . . γενόμενος, 'it is plain that he was. *τις* . . . ἡρωϊκός, 'an heroic sort of man': *τις* is frequently used in this restrictive sense by Plutarch with adjectives to increase or weaken their notion, denoting that a thing is particularly great or particularly small, c. 18, 4 ἰδίος *τις*, c. 24, 2, *Arist.* c. 1, 7 τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει *τις* εἶναι περιττός, *Phoc.* c. 14, 5 δοκῶν ἀμαχός *τις* εἶναι καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστος, *Cal. ma.* c. 14, 2 δέ *τις* ἦν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδής. Cp. the use of *quidam* as explained by Dr. Reid on *Cic. de am.* § 6 p. 67.

18. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμόν, 'the banishment by ostracism, then, as a special (μὲν) result (οὖν) of his general unpopularity,' c. 2, 4.

19. ἐποιήσαντο *sc.* his fellow-citizens.

20. κολούοντες . . . τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, 'by way of curtailing his preeminence.' Cp. *Arist.* c. 1, 7, *Nic.* c. 11, 1.

21. ἐπὶ πάντων, 'in the case of all,' c. 8, 2.

22. βαρεῖς, 'oppressive,' 'obnoxious.' *Dem. Aristocr.* § 205 οἱ πρόγονοι . . . Θεμιστοκλέα λαβόντες μείζον αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντα φρονεῖν ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *Diod.* xi 54, 5 οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, οἱ δὲ φθονήσαντες τῇ δόξῃ, τῶν μὲν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπελάθοντο, τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινοῦν ἔσπευδον.

24. παραμυθία φθόνου κτλ., 'a mitigation and relief of envious feelings.'

Plutarch regards the institution of ostracism too much from its ethical and too little from its political side. It really served as a factor in the settlement of party struggles, such as that, in this case, between the aristocrats supported by Sparta and the democrats. *Arist.* c. 7, 2 μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι' εὐπρέπειαν ὄγκου καὶ δυνάμειος βαρυντέρας ταπεινώσεις καὶ κόλουςις, ἣν δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλόφρωντος, εἰς ἀνέκαστον οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' εἰς μετὰστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν ἀπειροδομένου δυσμένειαν, *Diod.* xi 55, 2 ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος· ἕκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ὄστρακον ἔγραφε τοῦνομα τοῦ δοκοῦντος μάλιστα δύνασθαι καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν... νομοθετῆσαι δὲ ταῦτα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ἵνα τὴν κακίαν κολάζωσι, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ταπεινότερα γένηται διὰ τὴν φυγὴν. We learn from Aristotle *Ἀθην. πολ.* c. 21 that the law of ostracism was originally passed by Clisthenes, in consequence of the lesson taught by the career of Pisistratus, and was aimed especially at the supporters of his house who still remained in Athens. The leading adherents of the tyranny, however, were not expelled till after Marathon; the first victim, we are told, was Hipparchus, son of Charmus. *Cp. Nic.* c. 11, 1.

27. ἀποπνέοντος, 'venting.'

## CHAPTER XXIII

§ 11. 1. ἐκπεσόντος, 'after he had been banished.' This was in the year B.C. 471. His exile was the result of a reaction—the preponderance which the aristocratical party, with Cimon at their head, had acquired under Spartan influence.

2. διατρέβοντος ἐν Ἀργεῖ, 'while he was staying at Argos.' Argos was not only unfriendly to Sparta but strongly believed to have been in collusion with Xerxes on his invasion of Greece. *Cp. Ovid Ep. ex Pont.* i iii 69 :—

Arma Neoclides qui Persica contudit armis

Argolica primam sensit in urbe fugam.

τὰ περὶ Πausanίαν συμπεσόντα, 'what had happened about Pausanias,' viz. the detection of his treason. See *Thuc.* i 128 ff.

3. κατ' ἐκείνου . . . ἀφορμάς, 'a handle against him.' We have a similar instance of the use of ἐκείνος in the same sentence and referring to the same subject as αὐτός in *Rom.* c. 29, 2 ἱερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρλίῳ προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἐκείνον.

4. τοῖς ἔχθροῖς sc. in Athens.

5. ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτόν, 'the man who preferred the indictment (γραφὴ or εἰσαγγελία) against him for high treason.' *G.* § 173, 2. Λεωβότης Ἀγρυλῆθεν, 'Leobotes of Agrule,' a deme in the phyle Erechtheis. *Lex. Rhet. ad calc. Photii* p. 667, 12 (*Müller Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii p. 619) συνομολογεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοφράστου (sc. λεγομένοις), ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέα εἰσήγγειλε κατὰ

Class. Rev.  
1892. 233

Κρατερὸν Λεωβότας Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν. In *Arist.* c. 25, 7 and *Mor.* p. 805 c the prosecutor's name is given erroneously as Alcmeon himself.

7. **ἄμα συνεπαιτιωμένων**: Thuc. I 135, 2 τοῦ δὲ μηδισμού τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνηπαιτῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ἠδύσκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἤξιουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. Cp. *Nepos Them.* c. 8, 12 *Argos habitatum concessit*; *hic cum propter nullas virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset.*

§ 2 l. 8. **πράττων** κτλ., 'when he was carrying on those well-known (δῆ) intrigues of his, concealed them at first from Themistocles.' **Πράττειν** is often used by Thucydides of secret negotiations or diplomacy, as I c. 65, 2; c. 131, 1 **πράσσω** πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, c. 132, 4 **ἐπυνθάνοντο** καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας **πράσσει**ν τι αὐτόν (sc. Pausanias), II c. 2, 3; c. 5, 7 **πρὸς ὃν ἐπραξαν** οἱ προδιδόντες.

36 11. **ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας**, 'that he had been excluded from political life.'

12. **ἐθάρσησεν . . . παρακαλεῖν**, 'he summoned up courage to invite him.'

13. **γράμματα τοῦ β.**, 'the king's letter,' which is given in Thucyd. I 129.

14. **ἐπιδεικνύμενος**, not **ἐπιδεικνύς**, because addressed to himself.

15. **ὡς πονηρούς** sc. *δντας*.

16. **ἀπετρίψατο**, 'repudiated,' lit. 'rubbed off himself,' 'brushed away.'

Cp. *Thes.* c. 26, 8 τὴν πείραν ἰσχυρῶς ἀποτρίψασθαι, *Brut.* c. 17, 2 ἀποτριβομένου τὰς δεήσεις, *Luciull.* c. 35, 2 οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο τὰς δεξιώσεις, *Plut.* c. 44, 3 ἡ ἀδελφή καὶ ἡ γυνὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, εἰ Πoμπήιον Μάγνον ἀποτρίψεται κηδεστήν, *Anton.* c. 12 καὶ πάλιν ἐπήγε (τῷ Καίσαρι διὰ δῶμα δάφνης) καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνος ἀπετρίβετο, *Mat.* c. 40, 3 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἀνθρώπον, c. 84, 2 Μάριος φιλοτίμως πάνν καὶ μεираκιωδῶς ἀποτρίβόμενος τὸ γῆρας i.e. *dissimulare conatus senectutem*, *Aeschin.* *Tim.* § 120 αἰσχύνομαι εἰ μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον ἀποτρίψεται, *Polyb.* v 42, 8 τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διδόμενον ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον, *Xen.* I 7 ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτροπὴν.

17. **ἀπέειπατο**, *denegavit*, 'refused,' 'declined.'

*Alcib.* c. 4, 4 τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπέειπατο, *Cal. ma.* c. 11, 4 ἐαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παρείχε καὶ φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ πόλιν, οὐτε τὰς συνηγορίας οὐτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπέειπάμενος, *Eum.* c. 5, 2 ἀντικρὺς ἀπέειπατο τὴν στρατείαν, *Marc.* c. 4, 2 ὅπως (οἱ ὕπατοι) τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέειπώνται, *Atal.* c. 51, 1 δεομένου αὐτοῦ συστρατεύειν ἀπέειπατο, *Mor.* 230 A τοὺς μνηστεύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας

ἀπειπαμένους, 511 γ σαυτὸν ἐβίξε σιωπᾶν μέχρι οὐ πάντες ἀπείπωνται τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, 512 β κὰν ἀπείπηται τὸν λόγον οὐ αἰτηθείς, 585 c τύχης κλήρον ἀπειπαμένῳ, 616 c φίλων ἀπειπαμένου διαίταν, 792 ε οὐκ ἂν οἰμαί σε φυγεῖν οὐδ' ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν, 808 ε τὴν χάριν ἀπειπαμένον, 868 c οὐκ ἀπειπαμένους τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν συμμαχίαν, Herod. vi 100 οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, iv 120 τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ix 7, 4 οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, Aristot. p. 837 α τοὺς προσώτους τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπείπασθαι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν νῆσον) πλευσσομένους, Polyb. xxiii 9, 18 ἔδοξε τὴν τῶν πλοίων δωρεὰν ἀπείπασθαι. The middle is not admissible in good Attic prose. It also means 'to renounce,' as *Caes.* c. 8, 1 τὰς εἰρημένας γνώμας ἀπειπάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων μετέστησαν, *Demetr.* c. 45, 1 ἀπείπαμένην πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, *Cat. mi.* c. 7, 1, *Pelop.* c. 14, 1 τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις, *Arist. Eth. Nic.* viii 16, 4.

18. πρὸς οὐδένα τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν, 'revealed to no one his proposals.' For ἐκφέρειν, *efferre, vulgare*, 'to publish,' 'divulge,' cp. *Sertor.* c. 27, 3 φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξενεχθέντων πρὸς τινὰς ταραχαὶ γένωνται, *Per.* c. 36, 2 ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλῳ τὰς οἰκοὺς διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ, Herod. viii 132 ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ἐνδὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, iii c. 71 ἐξοίσει τις πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον, c. 74 μὴδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ τὴν ἀπὸ σφείων ἀπάτην γεγονυῖαν, *Eur. Hēr.* 295 ἐκφορος, *Plat. Lach.* 201 A.

19. τὴν πράξιν, either simply 'the transaction,' or 'his treachery,' in which sense it is frequently used by Polybius, as ii 7, 8 ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν πόλιν προδοῦναι τῆς δὲ πράξεως ταύτης ἀποτυχόντες, 9, 2 ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ πράξις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, iv 8, 4; 71, 6. See note on l. 8. παύσεσθαι sc. τῆς πράξεως.

21. σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ, 'irrationally.' πραγμάτων . . . ὀρεγόμενον, 'aspiring to such chimerical and hazardous projects,' not to be taken closely with καταφανῇ γενήσεσθαι.

§ 3 l. 22. οὕτω δὲ goes with the whole clause, not with θανατωθέντος: 'thus it came about that.'

23. ἐπιστολαί: it is not stated whose. Still more indefinitely Thuc. (i 135, 2) ὡς εὕρισκον (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανσανίαν ἐλέγχων.

27. τῶν πολιτῶν, partitive gen. after οἱ φθονοῦντες.

28. διὰ γραμμάτων . . . ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις, 'in writing, by means of the earlier charges brought against him,' explained by the following clause.

30. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ sc. ἔγραφεν, implied in διὰ γραμμ. ἀπολ., '(he wrote) namely, that traduced as he was by his enemies before his fellow-citizens, as one always seeking to rule and not born to serve and having no mind thereto, it was not likely he would ever sell himself and Hellas to be a slave to barbarians or enemies.'

33. οὐκ ἂν ἀποδόσθαι would be in direct discourse *οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἀπόδοιτο*, the potential optative.

37 35. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, *veruntamen*, 'however,' lit. 'they did not, however, listen to his defence but' etc., c. 3, 2; c. 5, 4; c. 29, 1.

36. ἄνδρας = τινάς. οἷς εἴρητο, 'who had been ordered.'

37. ἀνάγειν, *captivum ducere*, 'to bring him up as a prisoner,' Thuc. I 135, 2 ('Ἀθηναῖοι) πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόιμον ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἷς εἴρητο ἀγεῖν, ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν.

No notice is taken of this technical meaning of the word ἀνάγειν in the Lexx, not even in Hase-Dindorf's *Thesaurus*. Cp. *Lucull.* c. 12, 5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σεργίου στρατηγός, c. 15, 2 Πομπώνιος . . . ἄλλω τετραμένους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήχθη, c. 28, 6 ἀλοῦς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Δουκουλλον, *Sert.* c. 27, 4 ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἀναχθέντες διεφθάρσαν, *Pompr.* c. 36, 2, *Alex.* c. 12, 8 ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν δεδεμένη, *Ti. Gr.* c. 20, 8 ἀνήχθη ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, *Brut.* c. 33 Βροῦτον οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναχθεῖς καὶ κολασθεῖς ὄνομα τοῦ θανάτου πλέον ἔσχεν ἢ τοῦ βίου, *Mor.* 606 c πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθεῖς ὡς κατάσκοπος, *Polyb.* II 8, 2 οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ζωγρία τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἀνήγον, VIII 22, 7 πανταχόθεν κυκλωθεὶς ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, 26, 2 τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ἐπιλαβομένων αὐτῶν ἀνήγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίβαν, XX 11, 5, *Xen. Hell.* II IV 8 Ἀνσίμαχον ἐκένον ἀναγαγόντα (not, as Breitenbach, 'a pari in urbem') παραδόναι αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς ξυνεληγμένους) τοῖς ἐνέκα, III III 11 ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἡγήχετο, *Lucian ver. hist.* II 6 ἀναχθέντες ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, *Appian bell. civ.* I 60 καὶ τὸν ἐντυχότα νηποῖναι κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, *Ev. Luc.* c. XXII 6 ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν, 'they brought him up before their council.'

38. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, 'before the Pan-Hellenic council.' So ἐν τῷ δήμῳ c. 22, 1. Cp. *Diodor.* XI 55, 4 (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) δεῖν ἔφασαν τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει συνεδρεῖν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον.

## CHAPTER XXIV

§ 1. 2. διεπέρασεν: B.C. 467. οὗτος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν *εὐεργεσίας*, 'for he stood in the official relation of *εὐεργέτης*, one who had done good service to that state.' As such, he probably had a right of asylum. The title *εὐεργέτης* is more often found in inscriptions than in authors. It was a purely honorary distinction; while *προξενία*, with which it was often associated, was a distinction and a function. The latter gradually fell into disuse, as *εὐεργεσία* became more common. See Monceaux *Les proxénies Grecques* (Paris 1886) p. 55 ff.

3. αὐτῶν sc. τῶν Κερκυραίων, implied in Κέρκυραν. So Thuc. I 136, 1 ὁ δὲ Θεμ. φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν

αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης, where the Scholiast gives another reason, viz. that Them. excused their absence in the Persian war. κριτής, 'arbitrator,' chosen by both parties, c. 5, 4. So according to Herodotus (v 95) Periander was chosen by the Athenians and Mitylenaeans to arbitrate between them.

4. διαφοράν, 'a dispute.' This was about Leucas on the west coast of Acarnania, which was colonised by the Corinthians under Cypselus between B.C. 665 and B.C. 625 (Strab. *Geogr.* x c. 2, 8), mod. *Santa Maura*. As colonists of Corinth, the Leucadians zealously espoused the cause of that city in the Peloponnesian war and successfully resisted the attacks of the Athenians (III c. 7). A similar difference about Epidamnus gave occasion to the Peloponnesian war.

5. κρίνας, 'giving as his award.'

6. καταβαλεῖν, 'that they should pay down.' *Sert.* c. 6, 3 δεινολογούμενων εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνθύπατος τέλη καταβαλεῖ βαρβάρους δόλεθροις, Dem. *Tim.* § 40 (clause of a law) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ καταβάλῃ τὸ ἀργύριον, § 83 τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσοῦσας ζημίας καταβάλλειν, Plat. *legg.* p. 932 D τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τῷ κεκτημένῳ καταβαλλέτω.

7. νέμειν, 'should possess,' here used of the relation subsisting between the daughter and mother state (μητρόπολις).

§ 21. 7. εἰς Ἡπειρον ἔφυγε: Thuc. i 136 δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερκυραίων εἶχεν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀπέχθασθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρή. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ἢ χωροίη, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι ἄπορον παρὰ Ἀδμήτῳ τὸν Μολοτῶν βασιλέα, ὅντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον, καταλύσαι.

9. ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπιδας... καταφυγών, 'he threw himself blindly upon chances of safety that were hazardous and desperate by taking refuge' etc.

11. Μολοτῶν, one of the three chief tribes of Epirus, who became subsequently its rulers, although they originally inhabited only a narrow strip of country, from the Ambracian gulf northwards as far as Dodona. δεθθεῖς τι: Schol. Thuc. l.c. πέμψαντος γάρ ποτε Ἀδμήτῳ Ἀθήναζε περὶ συμμαχίας αἰτήσεως, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέπεισε τὴν πόλιν μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῷ βοήθειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ φίλος.

12. προπηλακισθεῖς, 'refused with insult.'

13. ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, 'was at the height of his power in the state.'

14. δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτόν, 'was angry with him.' Thuc. II

c. 37, 2 οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας ἔχοντες, c. 64, 1 μήτε ἐμέ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, v c. 29, 3; c. 46, 5. **δῆλος ἦν τιμωρησόμενος**, 'it was evident that he would revenge himself upon him,' the personal for the impersonal construction, G. § 280 N. 1, *MT.* § 907.

16. **συγγενή . . . φθόνον**, 'hate of his countrymen.'

**πρόσφατος** is properly 'fresh-slaughtered' (φένω); hence generally 'recent,' 'fresh.' Cp. *Alex.* c. 36, 1 πρόσφατον τὸ ἄνθος ἐπὶ καὶ νεαρὸν φυλαττούσης, *Eum.* c. 6, 8 μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην, *Otho* c. 8, 1 (οὔσης) πρόσφατον τῆς νίκης. *Lys.* p. 151, 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ὀργῆς οὔσης πρόσφατου, *Herod.* II 89 πρόσφατος νεκρός, *Polyb.* II 46, 1 πρόσφατους εὐεργεσίας, *Soph. Andromeda* πρόσφατους ἐπιστολάς, *Aesch. Choeph.* 800 πρόσφατοι δίκαι, *Diod. Sic.* III 40 ποῖα τις ἄλλη . . . ἡ πρόσφατος μὲν οὐσα τοῖς ὁμμασι προσηρησάτην παρέχει τέρψιν, ἐγγρηνισθεῖσα δὲ συντόμως γίνεται ἐξίτηλος, *Menander Troph.* fr. 1, 4 πρόσφατοις ἰχθυοῖς, *Antiphanes Philothēbais* fr. 11 (Mein. III p. 128, *Kock* II p. 107) πρόσφατους ἰχθῦς. Aristotle applies the epithet to rain, water, oil and generally in opp. to παλαιός, as here; *Rhet.* I 15, 13 p. 1375<sup>b</sup>, 27 μάρτυρές εἰσι διττοί, οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι. In *Mor.* 517<sup>a</sup> and *Dem. Mid.* § 173 it is opposed to ἑωλός.

17. **βασιλικῆς**, in chiasmic opp. to **συγγενῆ**. Cp. *Hom. Il.* I 80:

κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χῶσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρη·  
εἶπερ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέσῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὁφρα τελέσῃ.

ταύτῃ sc. τῇ ὀργῇ.

18. **φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν**, 'he took and put himself at the mercy of': **ἑαυτόν** is object to both verbs.

The participle **φέρων** marks a degree of determination or urgency emphasizing the action of the principal verb with which it is used, 'on the impulse of the moment,' 'without hesitation': *Herod.* VIII 87 (of Artemisia) **φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ**, *Pomp.* c. 27, 4 (de piratis) Πομπηΐφ **φέροντες** ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐνεχειρίζον, *Comp. Arist.* c. *Cal.* II 3 c. 1, 3 ὁ Κάτων ἐκ πολυχνῆς μικρᾶς **φέρων** ἀφήκεν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείαν, *Per.* c. 7, 1 οὗτω δὲ **φέρων** ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσέειπεν ἑαυτόν, *Atal.* c. 9, 4 προσέειπεν αὐτὴν (urbem) **φέρων** τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, *Fab. Max.* c. 6, 1 ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν **φέροντες** εἰς πόλιν Κασιλίον, [*Plut.*] *de lib. educ.* c. 7 ὅτι δ' ἐν εὐρώῃσι ἀνδράποδον οὐλόληπτον καὶ λίχον, τοὺς **φέροντες** ὑποβάλλουσιν τοὺς υἱούς, *Aesch. Tim.* § 175 ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς κρίτας) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Τίμαρχον αἰτίων ἐπέστησα **φέρων** ἐπὶ τὸν κατηγοροῦν, *Cles.* § 82 εἰς τοῦτο **φέρων** περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε etc., § 90 **ὑπέβαλεν** ἑαυτὸν **φέρων** Θηβαίους, § 143 τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (ἡγεμονίαν) ἄρδην **φέρων** ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίους, § 146 προσέμιξε **φέρων** τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκευῇ τῇ πόλει. In earlier writers the passive participle **φερόμενος** is used similarly, *Herod.* VIII c. 91, IX c. 102.

19. **ἴδιον**: c. 18, 4.

**παρηλλαγμένον**, 'strange,' lit. 'altered,' as in *Cor.* c. 38, 4, *Polyb.* VII 17, 7 **παρηλλαγμένον** τῆς συνηθείας; so 'out of the common run,' 'extraordinary,' *Thes.* c. 34, 1 ἰδίον τινα καὶ **παρηλλαγμένον** ὅλος λόγον ὁ Ἰστρος . . . ἀναφέρει, *Aem. Paul.* c. 37, 2 ἔνιοι τῆς τελευταῖς ἰδίον τινα καὶ **παρηλλαγμένον** τρόπον ἱστοροῦσι, *Polyb.* I 79, 4 **παρηλλαγμένας** ἐπινοήσας τιμωρίας, III 55, 1 τὸ συμβαίνειν ἰδίον ἦν καὶ **παρηλλαγμένον**, IV

88, 12 τῶν ἐχόντων παρηλλαγμένον τι καὶ διαφέρων τόπων, II 29, 1 ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην ἐπιφάνειαν, VIII 32, 5 πλήρης ἡ πόλις κραυγῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ παραχρῆς παρηλλαγμένης, Diod. Sic. III c. 46 παρηλλαγμένον ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων μίγμα, c. 8 παρηλλαγμένοις ἔθεσι χρώνται, XVII 90 παρηλλαγμένους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ὄφεις.

20. τὸν υἱόν: *filiam parvulam*, according to Nepos.

21. μεγίστην ἱκεσίαν, 'the most solemn form of supplication,' predicate to ταύτην: Thuc. *l.c.* καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκετεύμα τοῦτο.

22. ἀναντίρρητον, 'not to be rejected,' Polyb. XXVIII 11, 4 πᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραγγελθὲν ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν.

§ 3 l. 23. ξνιοι, as Thucydides, Diodorus XI 56.

24. ὑποθέσθαι . . . τὸ ἱκετεύμα τοῦτο, 'suggested this mode of supplication.' Cp. *Rom.* c. 1, 2 ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὐτῶν ἀπορρομέναις . . . ὑποθέσθαι μίαν Ῥώμην ὄνομα, *Nym.* c. 15, 5 ξνιοι οὐ τοὺς δαίμονας φασιν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρόν, Herod. I 90 ὑπερήδετο ὡς ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι, V 92, 98, VI 134, VII 237, VIII 97, Arist. *Eccl.* 1154 σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς κριταῖσι βούλομαι.

27. ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιο . . . τὴν ἀνάγκην, 'in order that he might plead religious scruples for being compelled to decline giving him up.' See n. on *Sull.* c. 22, 4 for the usage of this verb.

28. οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι, vivid construction.

29. διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραφεῖσθαι, 'arranged and played a leading part together with him in the solemn pathetic scene.' ἐκεῖ for ἐκεῖσε, 'thither,' as *Rom.* c. 28, 7 ἦκει γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἀνεισιν, *Maec.* c. 13, 1 ἦν ἐκεῖ προαπεσταλμένη δύναμις, Herod. VII 147 ἐκεῖ πλέομεν, IX 108 ἐκεῖ . . . ἀπῖκετο, *Soph. Oed. C.* 1019 ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ, Thuc. III 71 τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας.

30. ἐκκλέψας: c. 25, 2.

31. Ἀχαρνέας, 'of the deme Acharnae,' the largest in Attica, in the phyle Οἰνιῆς, situated not far from the foot of Mt Parnes: the inhabitants of this deme gave their name to one of the most famous plays of Aristophanes.

32. ἐπὶ τοῦτῃ, 'for,' 'because of this,' c. 2, 6; c. 7, 3. κρίνας, 'bringing him to trial,' 'prosecuting.' Cp. *Caes.* c. 4, 1 Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, *Dem. de f. l.* § 233 τοῦτον οὐκ ἔκρινεν (ἐταίρησεως) Αἰσχίνης, *Lycurg. c. Leocr.* § 1 κρίνω τὸν προδόντα τοὺς νεῶς, § 3 τοὺς κρίνοντας τοὺς παρανομούντας, § 113 τὸν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας.



33. **ἑαυάντωσε**: c. 6, 2; c. 22, 1. **Στησίμβροτος**: see c. 2, 3; c. 4, 4, also *Introduction*. **οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως**, parenthetical, *nescio quomodo* (Cic. *de off.* 1 § 146), 'singularly enough.' The inconsistency lies in *αἰτεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον*.

35. **ποιῶν**, 'representing as.'

36. Hieron, despot of Syracuse from B.C. 478/7 to B.C. 467 in succession to his brother Gelon, was a liberal patron of men of letters, and his court was the resort of the most famous poets and philosophers of his day, as Aeschylus, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar by whom his victories in the Olympian and Pythian games have been immortalised. He obtained a great victory over the Etruscan fleet near Cumae in B.C. 474. See my *Introd.* to Xenophon's *Hier.* p. xv-p. xxvi, or to Thucydides Book VII p. xxx.

39. **ἀποτραυφάμενον**: c. 23, 2.

40. **οὕτως**, 'under these circumstances,' often thus used as a corroborating word after a participle denoting a cause, G. *MT.* § 857. Cp. c. 25, 2, Xen. *Cyr.* VII v 71, VIII i 22.

41. **ἀπῶραι**: c. 11, 2.

## CHAPTER XXV

§ 1 l. 2. **ἐν τοῖς Περί βασιλείας**, 'in his treatise on monarchy,' which is not extant. See *Introduction* and n. on l. 25.

3. **ἱστορεῖ**: c. 1, 3.

4. **ἀγωνιστάς**, 'as competitors in the races.' **σκηνὴν**: c. 5, 2.

6. **ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι**: c. 5, 3; c. 23, 3.

7. **τοῦ τυράννου** contains the reason of his suggestion. Aelian *Var. Hist.* ix 5 gives a different reason:—*εἰπὼν τὸν μὴ μεταλαμβάντα τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πανηγυρέων μεταλαμβάνειν μὴ δεῖν*. As citizen of a Greek colony, Hieron had a right to compete at the Olympic games.

8. **Θουκυδίδης** (I c. 137) also is in direct contradiction to Stesimbrotus.

10. **τὴν ἑτέραν θ.**, the sea on the other side of Greece i.e. the Aegean )( the Ionic, Thuc. *l.c.* **ἀπὸ Πύδνης** with *ἐκπλεῦσαι*. Pydna was on the coast of Pieria in the Thermaic gulf.

11. **δοτις εἴη**: G. § 243. **τῶν πλεόντων** with *οὐδενός*.

39 12. **μέχρι οὗ . . . ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτόν**, 'until such time as he revealed himself'; the optative is due to the indirect discourse by assimilation to *εἴη*. **Naxos**, the largest island of the

Cyclades, situated about half-way between Greece and Asia Minor, was conquered B.C. 490 by the Persians, but recovered its independence after the battle of Salamis, when it became a member of the confederacy of Delos: but B.C. 471 it revolted and was subdued by the Athenians (Ναξίοις δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστήσαντο, πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη Thuc. I 98, 4).

[The reading in S and F<sup>a</sup>, instead of Νάξον, is Θάσον—which island was also a member of the confederacy of Delos, but revolted B.C. 465, and did not surrender to the Athenians till after a protracted siege of two years. It is certainly not a mere corruption, and is adopted in his Text by Fuhr.]

13. τότε with πολιορκουμένην.

14. τῷ ναυκλήρῳ, 'the owner of the vessel,' the shipmaster who generally acted as skipper also.

§ 2 l. 15. τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, 'partly . . . partly.'

16. κατηγορήσοι: the fut. opt. is used in indirect discourse to represent a fut. ind. of the direct form. G. MT. § 128.

18. χρήμασι πεισθέντες: Thuc. I 137, 2 εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτόν ἀγει. ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλάβοιεν, 'had taken him on board in the first instance.' Cp. Aem. Paul. c. 26, 1 λανθάνει πως Ὀροάνδην τινὰ Κρήτα λέμβον ἔχοντα συμπείσας μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτόν, Anton. c. 67, 1 προσερχθεὶς οὕτω καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς.

19. οὕτως: c. 24, 3. ἀναγκάσειε is coupled to ἀναδείξειεν, παραπλεύσαι, *praetervehi*, 'to sail past (Naxos),' 'to hold on their course.' λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, 'to lay hold of' 'reach the shore of Asia.' For this local meaning of the simple verb, cp. Cic. c. 31, 5 διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο λαβέσθαι Σικανίας βουλόμενος, Thuc. VIII 80, 2 αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος— . . . χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι, III c. 24, 2 λαβόμενοι τῶν ὀρών διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, c. 106, 3 λαβόμενοι τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ. The compound ἀντιλαβέσθαι is also used in the same sense by Thuc., III 22, 5, cp. IV 128, 2, VII c. 60, 2; c. 77, 6.

21. ὑπεκκλαπέντα, *clam et furtim subrepta*, 'stealthily and secretly conveyed away.' The property of a citizen guilty of high treason was liable to confiscation. Themistocles had, as it appears, provided for such a contingency, Thuc. I 137, 3 ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ (χρήματα) ὑπερὸν ἕκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργεῶς ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο.

22. **ἔπλει**: the simple verb is rarely used of things, as in Thuc. III 114, 1 τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (σκύλα) πλέοντα (in navigation) ἔάλω. But the compounds ἐσπλεῖν and ἐκπλεῖν are frequently used of imports and exports, as Thuc. II 93, 4, III 51, 2, IV 27, 1, VIII 90, 6, Dem. *adv. Lept.* § 31. [My proposed emendation of εἰσέπλει for ἔπλει *Timol.* c. 18, 1 is not necessary, though probable.] τῶν φανερώων γενόμενον, 'that which was brought to light.'

24. τὸ δημόσιον, 'the public treasury.' ἑκατὸν τάλαντα: the talent was not a coin but a sum of money=about £230.

25. **Θεόφραστος**: Theophrastus, born at Eresus in Lesbos, succeeded Aristotle as president of the Lyceum at Athens. His chief works are the 'XXX Characters' and the 'History of Plants.'

26. οὐδὲ τριῶν, 'not so much as three.' Such is the statement of Critias also, Aelian *Var. Hist.* x 17 λέγει Κριτίας Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους, πρὶν ἢ ἀρξασθαι πολιτεύεσθαι, τρία τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν προέστη, εἴτα ἔφυγε καὶ ἐδημεύθη αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, κατεφωράθη ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πλείω οὐσίαν ἔχων. Plutarch elsewhere (*Cy. Arist.* c. *Cat. ma.* c. 1, 4) gives the sum as 3 or 5 (πέντε γὰρ ἢ τριῶν τάλαντων οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤπτετο τῆς πολιτείας). The poverty of Aristides, says Grote, at the end of his life presents an impressive contrast to the enrichment of his rival. And so does that of Pericles, who (*Per.* 15, 4) μὴ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἢς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

27. ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας: c. 3, 1.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### § 1 1. κατέπλευσεν, *appulit*.

According to Strabo *Geogr.* xiii 3, 6 Cyme (called also Phriconis because founded by a colony of Phocians from Mt Phricus) was the largest and noblest of the cities in Aeolis (μεγίστη τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἀρίστη Κύμη καὶ σχεδὸν μητρόπολις αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Λέσβος τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων περὶ τριακοντά πον τὸν ἀριθμὸν). It stood on a bay named after it (*Cymaeus* (*Elaiticus*) *sinus*) opposite the southern coast of Lesbos. It was the birthplace of Ephorus the historian and of Hesiod the poet, and the mother city of Cumae in Campania. It has some historical associations with the Ionian revolt, when it joined Aristagoras, but was soon recovered by the Persians (Herod. v 38, 123). The remnant of Xerxes' fleet which escaped from Salamis wintered there (Herod. viii 130). Thucydides (i 137, 3) says that Themistocles went to Ephesus, which was much nearer to Naxos.

2. τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, 'of the inhabitants of the coast.'

3. παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, 'that they were watching for an opportunity to capture him,' *Eum.* c. 13, 6 αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Εὐμένης αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς (which passage is a sufficient answer to Cobet's objection to λαβεῖν), *Xen. de Rep. Lac.* IV 4 παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, εἰάν τι παρὰ τὰ κακὰ ραδιουργῶσι, *Polyb.* I 36, 9 παρεφύλαττον τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν ὑπεναντίων, VII 3, 9 παρεφύλαττον ὡς πολέμιον, *Timol.* c. 19, 2 δεδιότες τὰς τριήρεις αὐτὸν παρεφύλαττον αὐτούς. The middle is also sometimes found in this sense as in *Timol.* c. 7, 4 and freq. in *Polybius*.

4. τοὺς περὶ Ἔργοτλη i.q. Ἐργοτέλη, see n. to c. 7, 3.

6. κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντός, 'to make gain by any means,' honourable or dishonourable. See note to c. 21, 1 and cp. *Soph. Ant.* 312 οὐκ ἐξ ἀπαντος χρή τὸ κερδαίνειν φιλεῖν.

7. ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ, 'having been offered as a price for his head,' c. 29, 1.

Cp. *Herod.* VII 218 καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη, 214 οἱ Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκηρύξαν ἀργύριον ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, *Dem. de f. l.* § 21 διὰ ταῦτα χρήμαθ' αὐτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, *Diod. Sic.* XIII c. 6 τῷ ἀνελόντι Διαγόρῳ ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐπεκηρύξαν, XIV 8, *Appian bell. civ.* v 118 χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπεκηρύχσαν. More fully in *Lys. c. Andoc.* § 18 ἐπικηρύττοντες τάλαντον ἀργυρίου δώσειν τῷ ἀγαγόντι ἢ ἀποκτείναντι. The verbs ἐπαινεῖν (*Thuc.* VI 60, 9) and ἐπαναγορεύειν (*Arist. Av.* 1072) are used in a similar sense.

9. Αἰγᾶς: there were three towns named Aegae in Europe viz. in Achaia, Emathia and Euboea, and two in Asia, one on the coast of Cilicia and the other in Aeolis near Cyme, *Herod.* I 149, *Xenoph. Hell.* IV VIII 5.

11. According to *Diod. Sic.* XI 56, 4 f., whose account otherwise tallies with that of *Plutarch*, the name of his host was Lysithides, who ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὢν Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διδασίαν τοῦ Ξέρξου τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἀπασαν εἰστικῶς διόπερ συνήθειαν μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν ἔλεον σῶσαι βουλόμενος ἐπηγγεिलाτο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράξειν.

12. τοῖς ἀνω δυνάτοισι, 'the great men of the interior' i.e. at the Persian court, c. 6, 1.

13. παρὰ τούτῳ: c. 5, 2. κρυπτόμενος . . . διέτριψεν, supplementary participle with verb signifying to continue, *G. MT.* § 879, 1. Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* I II 12 αἱ ἄλλαι φῶλαι διατρίβουσι μελετώσαι ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον.

14. μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας, 'after the feast which followed a sacrifice,' c. 5, 1.

15. παιδαγωγός: c. 12, 2. ἑκφρων is often applied to religious and prophetic frenzy, *Plato Ion* p. 534 B ἐνθεός τε . . . καὶ ἑκφρων.

16. **θεοφόρητος**, 'possessed,' 'god-rapt,' *Mor.* 54 c **ἂν ἐκεῖνος** (ᾗ) **δεισιδαίμων**, (φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι) **θεοφόρητον**, *Sull.* c. 27, 6 **φησὶν οἰκτερῆν Πιστρίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς κράτος νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν**, *Aesch. Agam.* 1067 **φρενομανῆς τις εἰ θεοφόρητος. ἀνεφώνησεν**, 'lift up his voice and cried.'

18. **νυκτὶ** . . . **δίδου**, a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The sentiment often recurs e.g. in Menander **ἐν νυκτὶ βουλὴ τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται**. So here: 'Commit everything to night, voice, counsel, victory' i.e. believe everything night tells thee, it speaks (by dreams), gives thee counsel and victory. Cp. *Epicharmus ap. Cornut. de nat. deor.* c. 14 **αἶτε τι ἱατεῖ σοφόν τις, νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητόν** and **πάντα τὰ σπουδαῖα νυκτὸς μάλλον ἐξευρίσκεται**, and the story told about Pisistratus by Herodotus i 62.

§ 2 l. 20. **ὄναρ**, adverbially 'in a dream' (ὄναρ. Cp. *Philop.* c. 18, 5 οὐδ' **ὄναρ ἂν ποτε παθεῖν** . . **ταῦτα προσδοκῆσάντος**, *Timol.* c. 8, 1 **ὄναρ ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεάς**).

**ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν**, *sibi visus est videre*, 'fancied that he saw.'

Where the subject of *δοκεῖν* and its dependent clause is not the same, (1) either *δοκεῖ*, *έδοξε* etc. are joined with the nominative of the vision dreamed and the dative of the dreamer, or (2) the nominative of the dreamer followed by the accusative of the thing dreamed with the infinitive. Thus (1) *Xen. Anab.* iii iv 11 **ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν** (and then with a change of construction to) (2) **καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πάσαν, Πυγῆ.** c. 11, 2 **ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὕπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι**, *Arist.* c. 11, 6 **Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν** (where we have an instance of the accusative with the infinitive though the subject of the whole clause is one and the same), *Demetr.* c. 29, 1 **Δημήτριος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὀπλισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν**, *Pomp.* c. 68, 2 **ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πιομπήσιος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον**, *Sull.* c. 9, 2, *Pygth.* c. 29, 1, *Cleom.* c. 7, 8, *Arist.* c. 19, 1, *Cic.* c. 44, 2, *Timol.* c. 8, 3 **ἔδοξεν ῥαγύντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκχέαι πῦρ**.

**κατὰ τῆς γαστροῦ**: cp. c. 9, 1 **κατὰ τῶν λίθων**.

22. **ὡς ἤψατο** . . . **ὀδόν**, 'as soon as it had reached his face, it was turned into an eagle, and spreading, folding, its wings about him lifted him from off the earth and carried him (imperf. inf.) a long way.' The metamorphosis of the serpent into an eagle foreboded a sudden change in the critical position of Themistocles. The eagle was the field-badge of the king (*Xen. Cyr.* vii i 4, *Anab.* i x 12); the herald's wand was the symbol of peace and security. Cp. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxix 3, 12.

25. **κηρυκείου, caducei**, 'a herald's staff' with two serpents wound about it. *Schol. in Thucyd.* i 53, 1 **ἔστι ξύλον ὀρθὸν ἔχον ἐκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιπεπλεγμένους καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους κειμένους. στήσαι**, 'set him.'

27. **δ' ὅν**, resumptive, 'anyhow,' 'whether the story be true or not,' c. 27, 1.

28. **τι τοῖόνδε**: more usually **τοῖόνδε τι**.

29. **τὸ Περσικόν** sc. **γένος**, or the neuter in a collective sense for **οἱ Πέρσαι**; see my n. to Thuc. vii 43, 7. **εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας**, 'in respect of jealousy about their women.' Cp. **Artoc.** c. 27, 1 **δύσζηλα γὰρ τὰ βαρβαρικά δεινῶς περὶ τὸ ἀκόλαστον**, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν προσελθόντα καὶ θιγόντα παλλακῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν πορείᾳ προσελθόντα καὶ διελάσαντα τὰς ἀμάξας ἐφ' αἷς κομίζονται, θανάτῳ κολάζεσθαι. **εἰς**, 'in respect to,' c. 2, 2.

30. **ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπὸν**, 'naturally harsh and cruel.' Cp. Hom. *Od.* i 198 **χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν, ἄγριοι**, viii 575 **ἡμὲν ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι**.

§ 3 1. 32. **τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους**, *mancipia argento parata* (Liv. xli 6).

Greek slaves were either **δοριάλωτοι** (*captivi*), **ἀργυρωνήτοι**, or **οἰκότριβες** (*vernae*). The second class increased in proportion as the first became rare: they would naturally be treated with less consideration than those born in the house. Cp. *Isocr. Plat.* § 18 **οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων δουλεύουσι**, *Ranep.* § 128 **τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀργυρωνήτων**, *Eur. Alc.* 676 **Ἀνδὸν ἢ Φρύγα . . . ἀργυρωνήτων σέθεν**, *Diocl. Sic.* i 70, 2 **περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐτ' ἀργυρωνήτος οὐτ' οἰκογενὴς δοῦλος**.

**παλλακευομένας** (*pass.*), 'in the position of concubines.'

33. **ισχυρῶς**, *vehementer*, 'closely,' 'strictly.' *Xen. An.* vi iii 11 **τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς**, *Cyr.* i iv 14 **λυπούμενον ἰσχυρῶς**, vii iv 15 **ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελοῦσι**, *Hell.* v i 29 **ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης**. It is also joined with adjectives as *Xen. Oecon.* c. 4, 4 **δυνατοῦ ἰσχυρῶς**, and substantives as *Apol.* § 28 **ἐπιθυμητῆς ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ**. **παραφυλάττουσιν**: c. 30, 2. **ὥς**, for **ὥστε**, c. 5, 4.

34. **τῶν ἐκτός**, 'strangers' )( members of the family.

41

Cp. *Mor.* 142 D **τὴν φωνὴν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός**, 593 c. *Rab. Maz.* c. 1, 8 **τὸ εὐκόλον (αὐτοῦ) πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἀβελτερίας τινὸς ὑπόνοιαν εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός**, *Dem.* c. 8, 1 **τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός ἐντεῦξεις**, *Cic.* c. 82, 5 **ἀν μὴ τις ἐδ' μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτός**, *Dion.* c. 19, 3 **διαφοραὶ λανθάνουσai τοὺς ἐκτός**, and frequently in Polybius.

36. **σκηναῖς**, 'hoods,' 'tilts' or 'awnings.' Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* vi iv 11 **ἀπήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ**, which Julius Pollux 10, 52 explains as **τὸ ἐστεγασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀμάξης**. Xerxes used on his expedition besides his war-chariot (**ἄρμα**) also an **ἀρμάμαξα**, *Herod.* vii 41 **μετεβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἁρματος εἰς ἀρμάμαξαν**. The use of these comfortable caravans (*arabais*) is

ridiculed by Aristophanes *Ach.* 69 where the ambassadors from Persia talk of travelling *ἐσκηνημένοι*, ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακέμενοι; Aeschylus *Pers.* 100 calls them *σκηναὶ τροχήλατοι*. According to Rich *Comp. to Gr. Dict.*, no authentic representation of one remains. κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμένas, 'with curtains drawn all round them.' Cp. *Artox.* c. 5, 3 where we are told that Queen Stateira made herself very popular by appearing in an ἄρμαμαξα γυμνὴ τῶν παραπετασμάτων, Diod. Sic. xi 56, 8 παρασκευασάμενος τὴν ἀπήνῃ πολυτέλεσι παραπετάσμασι κεκοσμημένην.

38. καταδύς, 'lying hid,' 'ensconced.' So Plat. *rep.* p. 579 B (of a despot) καταδεδυκῶς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῆ. *Soph.* p. 239 οἱ εἰς ἀπορον τόπον καταδέδυκεν, Polyb. xv 30, 3 οἱ δὲ κατεδύοντο διαδιδράσκοντες εἰς ἀνυπονότους οἰκίας καὶ τόπους, Diphilus ap. Athenae. ii 67 D δειπνεῖ δὲ καταδύς i.e. *in gustuoluo abditus*. Cp. καταδυσίς, 'a lurking-place,' *Tib. Gr.* c. 9, 4.

39. ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, 'from time to time to those who met them and asked questions.' For the position of ἀεὶ, referring as it does equally to both participles, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* vii i 1 μετεῖδον ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ, *Hell.* ii i 4 ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιώς, Plato *legg.* vii p. 794 B κολάζουσα ἀεὶ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα.

40. γύναιον, *mulierculam*, 'a poor woman' (not a true diminutive but an adjectival form) in a contemptuous or commiserative sense: *Pyrrh.* c. 2, 1 ἐφευγον οἰκέτας ὀλίγους καὶ γυναῖα τιθνηόμενα τὸ παιδίον ἐφελκόμενοι, c. 13, 3 τὸ γύναιον (*sc.* τὴν αὐλητρίδα) αὐλεῖν κἀκείνον ἄδων ἐκέλευον, *Pelop.* c. 9, 2 γυναῖα τῶν ὑπάνδρων, Dem. *Aristog.* i § 57 γυναῖον πρᾶγμ' ἐπολεῖ, Andoc. *de myst.* § 130 παρὰ τοῖς παιδαρίοις καὶ τοῖς γυναῖοις κλῆδων ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει κάτεσχεν.

41. Ἰωνίας: to a Persian that would mean the whole of the west coast. πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις β., 'to one of the court officers.' From the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate, αἱ βασιλέως θύραι came to mean 'the Royal Palace,' 'the Sublime Porte.' Cp. Theopomp. *Phil.* xlviii fr. 135 (Müller *F.H.G.* i p. 301) Νικόστρατος καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὅποτε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρὶς ὀνομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ἀκούων τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, Xen. *Cyr.* iii iii 13 παρήσαν οἱ ἐπικαίριοι ἐπὶ θύραις, vi i 1, viii i 8, iv 27, *An.* i ix 3 πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται, ii i 8 ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας, *Hell.* i vi 7 ἀχθεσθεῖς ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, Herod. iii 119 φοιτεῖουσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως.

## CHAPTER XXVII

§ 11. 1. **Θουκυδίδης**: i 137, 3 ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ὡς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα i.e. Artaxerxes I. (surnamed *μακρόχειρ*, *longimanus*), the Artaxerxes of Scripture, who was king from B.C. 466 (the year after Xerxes was murdered) to B.C. 425. **Χάρων**: Charon, a native of Lampsacus, a Milesian colony, in Mysia, on the coast of the Hellespont (c. 29, 4), was one of the early Greek chroniclers, born about B.C. 502. He continued the researches of Hecataeus into eastern ethnography and wrote (as was the custom of these old historians) separate works upon different countries, as a complete history of Persia (Περσικά) in two books, on Hellas (Ἑλληνικά) in four books, Libya (Λιβυτικά or Λιβυκά), and one in four books called ὧροι Λακεδαιμονίων 'annals of Sparta,' and another entitled ὧροι(?) Λαμψακηνῶν or 'annals of Lampsacus.' The present statement may have been taken from the Περσικά or Ἑλληνικά. See Müller *F.H.G.* i p. xvi-p. xx.

2. **ἱστοροῦσι**: c. 1, 3.

3. **πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν . . . ἐντευξιν**, 'that it was his son between whom and Themistocles the interview took place.'

5. Ephorus was born at Cyme (c. 26, 1, Strabo *Geogr.* XIII c. 3, 6) between B.C. 388 and B.C. 378. See *Introduction* iv. Dinon wrote a history of Persia, which Nepos (*Conon* c. 5) refers to as the most trustworthy authority on the subject. He is quoted by Plutarch elsewhere, as in *Artox.* cc. 6, 9, 10, 13, 22, *Alex.* c. 36. Clitarchus, son of the former (Plin. *H.N.* x 49), accompanied Alexander the Great in his Expedition to the East and wrote a history of it, which appears to have been of little value (Cic. *de legg.* i 2, 7).

6. **Ἡρακλείδης**: there are several historians of this name, besides the present, who was a native of Cyme and author of a history of Persia (Περσικά) in five books (Athenae. iv p. 145 a, *F.H.G.* ii 96). The best known was the one surnamed Ποντικός, because he was born at Heraclea in Pontus, the author of a treatise περὶ πολιτειῶν, and of some counterfeit tragedies, ascribed by the author to Thespis (Bentley *Phalaris* p. 239). Another, a native of Egypt who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, was author of a great work entitled Ἱστορίαι, and of a book called Λεμβεντικός λόγος from which he was nicknamed ὁ Λέμβος. A fourth was of Magnesia, author of Μιθριδατικά. **ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες**, 'several others also beside them.'

7. **τοῖς χρονικοῖς** sc. *κανόσι* (*Sol.* c. 27, 1) or *βιβλίοις*.



8. *συμφέρεσθαι* . . . *συντεταραγμένοις*, 'to agree with the chronology of the period, although it too has been confused in no slight degree.' Fuhr reads with the two best MSS *αὐτὸς συντεταγμένος*, 'although he is not either himself an incontestable authority.' For *ἀτρεμα*, cp. c. 29, 1, *Mor.* 1062 c τῶν ἀτρεμα λευκῶν καὶ μέσως, 'things slightly or moderately white'; and for another meaning of *συμφέρεσθαι* in Plutarch, *Timol.* c. 15, 1.

10. *δ' οὖν*: c. 26, 2. The narrative is continued from Phanias. *γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινόν*, 'when he was come to the actual critical moment.' On this use of *παρά*, cp. c. 8, 1, *Pelop.* c. 9, 4 *θαρρεῖν παρά τὰ δεινὰ*, *Dem. Mid.* § 59 b *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δίκηματα δογλίως ἔχοντες εἶπαινεσθε*, and for *γίγνεσθαι* with *prepos.*, c. 2, 1, c. 19, 1, c. 28, 1, and *Xen. Cyr.* vii i 39 *ὡς ἐγένετο παρά τὰς μηχανάς*. See Field's *Notes, etc. on Greek Test.* p. 43.

11. *ἐντυγχάνει*, *convenit*, 'has an audience of.' *Aelian Var. Hist.* i 21 *ἐβούλετο αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ*. See *Lex.* to *Timol.* p. 223<sup>b</sup>.

12. *Ἀρταβάνης*: this was probably the same who murdered Xerxes at a later period, of whom *Diod. xi* 69, 1 *δυνάμενος πλείστον παρά τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀφηγούμενος*.

*τῷ χιλιάρχῳ*, 'the visir,' the chief officer of the Persian and later of the Macedonian court (*Diod. Sic. xviii* c. 48 fin.), whose office it was *τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοὺς δεομένους εἰσάγειν*, hence he was called *εἰσαγωγεύς* (*Aelian Var. Hist.* i 21). Nepos has the same story about Conon (c. 3), evidently borrowed from this:—*Conon primum more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle, nemo enim sine hoc admittitur*.

The whole of the story in Plutarch is unhistorical. 'According to Thucydides, the eminent exile does not seem to have been exposed to the least danger in Persia. He presented himself as a deserter from Greece, and was accepted as such: moreover—what is more strange, though it seems true—he was received as an actual benefactor of the Persian king, and a sufferer from the Greeks on account of such dispositions—in consequence of his communications made to Xerxes respecting the intended retreat of the Greeks from Salamis, and respecting the contemplated destruction of the Hellespontine bridge. He was conducted by some Persians on the coast up to Susa, where he addressed a letter to the king couched in the following terms, such as probably no modern European king would tolerate except from a Quaker: "I Themistocles am come to thee, having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father—but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered. Reward is yet owing to me for my past service: moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able

still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person to explain my views (*βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαντὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκω δηλώσαι*, I 137, 4)." *GROTE Hist. Gr.* vol. V p. 383 f.

14. *πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδάζων*, 'in which he (the king) is especially interested.' Cp. Dem. *Androt.* § 76 *πρὸς χρημάτων κτήσιν οὐδὲ πώποτε ὁ δῆμος ἐσπούδασεν*.

§ 2 l. 16. *διαφέρουσιν*, 'differ' i.e. 'are not the same,' hence *ἄλλα δέ*. See n. to c. 11, 2.

17. *ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις κτλ.*, 'but some hold one thing honour-<sup>42</sup> able, others another (each community has its own standard of propriety): yet it is proper for all to honour and uphold the customs of their country.' Cp. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 43 *ἄλλα δ' ἀλλαχοῦ καλά*.

18. *κοσμεῖν*, *colere*, 'to pay honour to.'

19. *θαυμάζειν*, 'respect,' 'reverence.'

20. *λόγος sc. ἐστὶ*, 'there is a report.'

21. *προσκυνεῖν*, 'to do homage by throwing oneself on one's face and kissing the ground before,' 'to prostrate oneself before.'

22. *ὡς εἰκόνα sc. ὄντα. τοῦ τὰ πάντα σφύζοντος*, 'the preserver of all things.'

23. *ἐπαίνων τὰ ἡμέτερα*, 'approving, conforming to, our customs.'

24. *ἔστι*, 'it is possible.'

25. *εἰ ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς*, 'if you are otherwise minded.' *ἀγγέλοις*, predicative, 'you must employ others (not me) to communicate with him,' G. § 137 note 4.

26. *οὐ πάτριον sc. ἐστὶ*, 'it is not in accordance with ancient custom.'

Cp. Arist. *Ecol.* 778 *οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτ' ἐστίν*, Dem. *de cor.* § 203 *οὐκ ἦν ταυτ'*, ὡς εἰκε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις *πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτά*, Aesch. *Cles.* § 20 *οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλή; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς*, Thuc. I 123, *1 πάτριον ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι*, IV 92, 2.

27. *μὴ προσκυνήσαντος* = *ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσῃ*. Cp. Aelian *Var. Hist.* I 21 *νόμος ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριος Πέρσαις τὸν ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλθόντα βασιλέως μὴ πρότερον λόγου μεταλαγχάνειν πρὶν ἢ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν*, where a story is told of Ismenias of Thebes, that he would not condescend to observe the customary obeisance, but made a pretence of doing so by dropping his ring and stooping to pick it up, when in the presence of the Shah.

29. *φήμην*, 'reputation,' 'glory.'

30. αἰξήσαν: c. 4, 2, c. 7, 1, c. 12, 1. πέλομαι: this compliance is in obedience to the deity who has exalted the Persians and placed him in their power. The Spartan deputies Sperthias and Bulis refused to fall down and worship the king according to the story told by Herodotus (VII 136).

31. θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι, 'to the deity who exalts.' This is the third attributive position of the article, in which the emphatic word is placed first; the second position is τῷ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι.

32. τῶν νῦν sc. προσκυνούντων.

33. ὥστε, 'accordingly,' 'and so.' μηδέν, adv. 'not at all.'

§ 3 l. 35. τίνα Ἑλλήνων, predicative.

36. φῶμεν, 'are we to say?' interrogative subj., G. MT. § 287. ἰδιώτῃ, here )( σοφῷ, as is seen by the expression τὴν γνώμην: ἰδιώτης is an 'ordinary man' in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by the possession of some professional acquirement, as that of soldier, orator, physician, athlete, or by his office.

38. οὐκέτι, non iam, 'no further' than what has been told you. πρότερος βασιλέως: G. § 175, 1 Note 1.

39. Φανίας: c. 1, 2; c. 7, 4; c. 13, 2. See *Introduction* iv.

40. Ἐρατοσθένης: Eratosthenes of Cyrene was born B.C. 276, and flourished in the reigns of the third, fourth and fifth Ptolemies.

He is said to have been summoned by Ptolemy Euergetes from Athens to Alexandria, where he succeeded the poet Callimachus, and was himself succeeded by the poet Apollonius Rhodius, as head of the famous library. He was the 'Admirable Crichton' of ancient learning; and used to be called the second Plato, and was the first to be honoured with the name of 'philologer'; and certainly no one except Aristotle could compare with him in the compass and accuracy of his learning (Bernhardy *Eratosthenica* Berol. 1822 pp. xiii f.) The two sciences of astronomical geography and chronology were founded by him, as also the historical criticism of the primitive Greek history. He was also an observer and collector of facts, and an inductive philosopher, but his reputation rests chiefly on his discoveries, his literary labours being represented by only a few fragments. Besides geographical and mathematical treatises he wrote an astronomical poem *Hermes*, a treatise on the old comedy in twelve books, and another on moral philosophy (*περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν*), of which that on 'riches and poverty' (*περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας*), to which Plutarch here refers, may have been a part. The most important of his purely literary works were the *chronographies*. The great achievement of his three books of *γεωγραφικά* was the discovery of a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth.

ἐν τοῖς: c. 25, 1 note. προσιστόρησε, 'adds the statement.'

41. Ἑρετρικῆς, of Eretria in Euboea, c. 11, 4. ἦν . . . εἶχε, 'whom he had to wife.' Cp. *Ti. Gr.* c. 4, 4, Thuc. II 29, 1 οὐ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, Xen. *rep. Lac.* I §§ 7, 8, *Cyr.* I v 4.

43. σύστασιν, 'introduction,' 'recommendation,' from συν-ιστάμαι, *commendare*. Cp. *Pyrrh.* c. 5, 4 τὸν ἀρχινοχόον τῷ Γέλωνι συνέστησεν, Plato *Theag.* 127 A ὅτω ἂν βούλη συστήσομέν σε, 123 A οὐκ ἐθέλει με οὐδενὶ συστήσαι, Xen. *Anab.* III i 8 Ξενοφῶν συνεστάθη τῷ Κύρῳ.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1 l. 1. δ' οὖν: c. 26, 2 note. The speech of Themistocles is 43 the same in substance with the letter given by Thucydides I 137, 4. Cp. *Neos Them.* c. 9.

2. σιωπῇ, dat. of manner, HA. § 776, Ruth. § 168.

4. τίς ἐστὶ, the indicative of the direct question is retained after a secondary tense, G. *MT.* § 669, 2.

6. ἤκω σοι says more than the ἤκω παρὰ σε of the letter as given by Thuc.

8. ὀφείλουσι, 'are indebted for.' κωλύσαντι, causal.

9. τὴν δόξιν: c. 16, 3. ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γεγενημένης, 'having been placed in a state of security.'

10. παρέσχε, 'gave me the opportunity.' τὰ οἰκεία σφιδόμενα, 'the affairs of my own country being safe,' 'the immunity of my own country from danger' (σφιδόμενα = σὰ δυνά). χαρίσασθαι τι καὶ ὑμῖν, 'to do you also a favour' i.e. as I have done my own country.

11. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, 'as far, then, as concerns myself.' The dative belongs to the whole sentence, G. § 184, 5. πάντα . . . συμφοραῖς, 'anything suits my present fallen fortunes' i.e. in my present position I am prepared for the worst.

13. χάριν, 'thanks' for my services.

14. εὐμενῶς, 'graciously,' with διαλλαττομένου sc. σοῦ, *Per.* c. 39, 1. παραιτέσθαι, *deprecari*, 'to avert by entreaty.'

§ 2 l. 15. τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος, 'taking my enemies as witnesses,' 'accepting their testimony'; διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν Thuc. I 137, 4. Cp. *Eur. Supp.* 261 Δήμητρα θέμεναι μάρτυρ' ἡλίου τε φῶς. ὧν εὐεργέτησα = τοῦτων ἃ εὐεργέτησα.

17. ἀπόχρησαι, 'make full use of.' See note on c. 4, 2.

18. ἀρετῆς, in its restricted sense, 'the power of doing good,' δύναμις εὐεργετική πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ πάντων περὶ πάντα Arist. *Rhet.* 1 9, 4. Cp. Xen. *An.* 1 iv 8 ἀπολήγονται (τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας) τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. ἀποπλήρωσιν, 'satisfying.' *Mor.* 132 A οὐ δεῖ χρῆσθαι κρεωφαγίαις πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀρέξεως, ὥσπερ λύκους ἢ λέοντας, 1135 A.

19. σφῆς μὲν . . . γενόμενον, 'in saving my life, you will be saving one who throws himself at your feet as an humble suppliant (and therefore it is your duty to help him); by putting me to death, you will be losing an enemy to Greece.'

21. ἐπέθειλας τῷ λόγῳ, 'brought forward supernatural signs in support of his words.'

Its ordinary meaning is *deos obtestari tamquam testes s. ultores*. Cp. *Plut. Cam.* c. 18, 1 τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι θετταλεῖς ἐνῆγον ἐπιθειάζοντες. So in *Thuc.* II 75, 1 (cp. ἐπιθειασμῶν VII 76, 4), or 'to call on in the name of the gods,' as VIII 58, 2 ἐπιθειάζόντων μὴ κατάγειν, *deprecantes eius restitutionem*. In *Mor.* 579 F οἱ δὲ, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς τινες εἶναι δοκοῖεν, ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰς πράξεις ὀνειράτα καὶ φάσματα προιστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἰόντων, it means 'ascribe to divine influence,' cp. *Cam.* c. 31, 4 ὑπομνησκουσα τόπων ἁγίων, οὓς Ῥωμύλος ἢ Νομάς ἢ τις ἄλλος αὐτοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. It is also used by Plutarch with the dative in the sense of 'to inspire,' *Mor.* 580 D αὐτῷ συνεφέγγετο τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζον ταῖς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεσι, 589 D οἱ πολλοὶ καταδαρθούσιν οἴονται τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἐπιθειάζειν.

προσδιελθὼν, 'by going through besides,' 'adding an account of.' Cp. *Mor.* 362 E νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χειρὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

22. ἐν Νικογένους sc. οἰκίᾳ, 'in the house of Nicogenes,' c. 26, 1.

*Mor.* 686 D τῶν παρατεθέντων ἐν Καλλίου καὶ Ἀγάθωνος ὄψων, *Plat. Prot.* 320 A ἐν Ἀρίφρονος ἐπαίδευεν, *Theaet.* 206 A ἐν κιθαριστοῦ μεμαθηκέναι, *Charm.* 155 D οὐκέτ' ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ, *Xen. Mem.* III xiii 3 ἐν Ἀσκληπίου sc. νεφ.

The μάντευμα is not mentioned elsewhere; the word is poetical (c. 13, 2) and not used in classical prose.

τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, 'Zeus of Dodona,' or Zeus Νάϊος 'aqueous,' according to the special attribute by which he was known in conjunction with Dione.

The vexed question about the site of the ancient temple at Dodona has been finally set at rest by the discovery of a number of inscriptions recording dedications to these deities, which has verified the prediction of the venerable Bishop of Lincoln made some fifty-five years since that it would be found at Dramisus, a place about seven miles from Iannina (*Greece* p. 247 ed. 1, p. 324 ed. 2). These inscriptions were published in the splendid volume of Constantin Carapoulos in 1878 entitled *Dodone et ses ruines*, which contains besides a list of an immense quantity of relics and works of art brought to light in the course of the excavations. An interesting detailed account of the oracle inscriptions is given in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* I p. 228 by Dr. E. S. Roberts: they are engraved

more or less legibly upon one or both sides of thin leaden plates (*sortes*, Cic. *de div.* i § 76), which contain the questions addressed or prayers offered to the deity by his votaries, whether individuals or communities, the consultant being in every case required to put his question or prayer into writing. 'The examination of them' he says 'has established a new proof of the considerable part which the consultation of the oracle played in the public and private life of the ancient Greek. In circumstances of importance or embarrassment he had recourse to the omniscient deity, and sought from him the means of succeeding in an enterprise or grappling with a difficulty in much the same way as we now consult a lawyer or a physician. The inscriptions which we possess range over a long period of time, from perhaps the fifth century B.C. to the date of the final destruction of the temple in B.C. 88 or even later.'

24. τοῦ θεοῦ sc. Δίος. For ὁμώνυμος as subst., cp. Plato *Soph.* 218 B τὸν Σωκράτους ὁμώνυμον, *Prot.* 311 B παρὰ τὸν σταντοῦ ὁμώνυμον ἐλθὼν, *Theaet.* 147 C τῷ σὺ δωμανύμῳ Σωκράτει.

συμφορήσῃ, 'made up his mind that,' 'came to the conclusion that, it must be to him that he was directed to go up.'

The verb *συμφορεῖν* is peculiar to late Greek. It bears two meanings, according as an external or internal process is denoted, (1) *idem sentire, consentire*, 'to be of one mind,' 'to assent to,' hence *conspirare*, 'to agree together' or 'conspire,' *Mor.* 243 F συμφορήσασαι κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, *Thes.* c. 36, 2, *Poplic.* c. 23, 3 αἱ γυναῖκες ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὰς συμφορήσασαι διετέθησαν ἐν αὐτῶν ὅλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, *Cal. ma.* c. 16, 4 συμφορήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπὶ κατήγον ἀντιπάλους τῷ Κάτωνι, *Philop.* c. 21, 1, *Mar.* c. 44, 6 οἱ περὶ Κίνναν καὶ Σεπτῶριον συμφορήσαντες ἐπέθεντο κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς, *Alex.* c. 11, 3 Θηβαῖους ἀφιστάται πύθμενος καὶ συμφορεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, and frequently in Polybius, or (2) *intelligere, deprehendere*, 'to find out,' 'perceive,' or 'to collect one's thoughts,' 'to reflect,' 'make up one's mind after due consideration,' in which sense it is commonly employed by Plutarch, either (a) absol. as *Mor.* 593 C τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν διαλεγόμενων συνιέντας καὶ συμφοροῦντας, *Thes.* c. 36, 1, *Demetr.* c. 8, 4 ὅψε συμφορήσαντες ἐβροῦθον οἱ στρατηγοί, c. 49, 2 μεταβαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν ἤδη ποτε συμφορήσαντας, *Ryith.* c. 11, 5 ἐτυχεν ἀφρημένος τὸ κράνος, ἄχρι οὗ πάλιν συμφορήσας καὶ περιθέμενος ἐγνώσθη τῷ λόφῳ διαπρέποντι, *Alex.* c. 9, 6 οὕτω δὲ συμφορήσας ὁ Φίλιππος κατήγαγε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, c. 71, 4; (b) followed by an objective accusative, *Ti. Gr.* c. 11, 2 τοῦ δὲ τὸ μέλλον συμφοροῦντος, *Nic.* c. 18, 7 ὥστε τὸν Νικίαν συμφοροῦντα τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀθυμεῖν, *Eum.* c. 9, 5 τοῦ δὲ Μεγάρου ταχὺ συμφορήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον, *Aem. Paul.* c. 83, 4 οὐ πᾶν συμφοροῦντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, *Pomp.* c. 73, 5 προσεκάλει τὸν Πομπήιον ἤδη συμφορῶν τῶν σχήματι τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, *Anlon.* c. 40, 5 τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεφρόνησε τὴν αἰτίαν, *Caes.* c. 28, 5 συμφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ Κάτονα πεῖθονσι τὴν γερουσίαν, *Sert.* c. 26, 5 τὴν δianoian αὐτῶν τῇ θρασυτῇ τῆς λαλίας συμφορήσας, *Brut.* c. 10, 2 ταῦτα συμφορήσας ἐνέτυχε Βρόντῳ πρότερος, *Cam.* c. 36, 6 δὲ δὴ συμφορήσας μετήγαγεν ἔξω πόλης τὸ δικαστήριον, *Sert.* c. 18, 5 δὲ δὴ μάλᾳ συμφορήσας ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐάραρει κύκλωσιν δεδοικώς κτλ.; (c) by a participle, *Nic.* c. 23, 1 τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκοπῆσιν ἁμωσγέντως ἤδη συνεφρόνουν γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης; (d) by an infinitive, as here; (e) by a relative clause, *Alex.* c. 60, 5 οὕτω δὲ συμφορήσαντα τὸν Πύρον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰη διαβεβηκώς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπινέει μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, *Cor.* c. 18, 6 συμφορήσαντες... ὡς ἀνὸρ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν πατρικίων οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν Μάρκιον, *Lys.* c. 21, 1 συμφορήσαντες ὅτι ταῖς ἐταιρείαις τὰς πόλεις κατέχων διὰ ταντὸς ἀρχεῖ,

*Artax.* c. 20, 3 τούτων γενομένων συμφρονήσας ἦν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πολεμῆσθαι, *Mor.* 150 B συμφρονήσας ὡς οὐνοῦ υἱὸς εἶη, 590 B οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἰτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἰτ' ὠνειροπόλει, *Dionys. Hal. A.R.* I 61 συμφρονήσαντες ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸς βόσκειν πάντας εἶναι ἡ περιούσα γῆ, XI 26 οἱ δ' ἀρα συμφρονήσαντες ὡς ἀμαχὸν εἶη πρᾶγμα; (I) 'to recollect oneself,' 'to come to one's senses,' *Alex.* c. 73, 4 πολὺν χρόνον ἀναυδὸς ἦν, μόλις δὲ συμφρονήσας Διονύσιος ἐφῆ καλεῖσθαι, *Mor.* 248 C τὸν δὲ συμφρονήσαντα (causa malī intellecta) διακόψαι τοῦ κρηνοῦ τὸ λειότατον, 265 A τὸν οὖν Ἀριστίνον συμφρονήσαντα (oraculo probe intellecto) παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀπολοῦσαι, *Caes. mi.* c. 70, 6 ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ Κάτων καὶ συνεφρόνησε, *Caes.* c. 29, 4 συμφρονήσας ὁ Βρέννος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κέλτους εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

For ἀναπέμπεσθαι, cp. c. 6, 1; c. 26, 1.

26. εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι, the interpretation suited the reality as well as the name.

- 44 § 3 l. 28. θαυμάσας: *Thuc.* I 138, 1 βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. τὸ φρόνημα, *animi magnitudinem*, 'his spirit,' 'self-confidence,' its usual meaning in *Thuc.* as I 81, 2, II c. 43, 3; c. 62, 5, IV 80, 2, V c. 40, 3; c. 43, 2, VI 18, 4. In *Herodotus* and elsewhere its meaning is 'sentiment,' 'disposition.'

29. μακαρίσας ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, 'congratulating himself on the ground of what he thought a piece of very great good luck.'

30. κατευξάμενος, *precatus* (not *imprecatus*). Cp. *Mor.* 277 A διὰ τί κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀποβῆναι τῶν οἰκογενῶν;

31. τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον, *Angramainjus* (*Ahriman*), the Persian god, who was the author or personification of evil in opp. to *Ἀρομάσδης* (*Ahuramazda*, *Ormuzd*) the author or personification of good. See *Rawlinson's Essay on the Persian Religion*, *Herodotus* I p. 426 ff.

34. διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων, 'in the middle of his sleep,' *Pyrrh.* c. 11, 2, *Lys.* c. 20, 5, *Sull.* c. 9, 4; c. 28, 4; c. 37, 2, *Arist.* c. 11, 6 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, *Pomp.* c. 32, 3 ἐν ὕπνοις, *Caes.* c. 63, 5 ἀσαφείς φωνὰς ἀναπέμπουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων, *Plato rep.* 330 A ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐγειρόμενος, *Soph.* 266 B τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντάσματα.

## CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1 l. 3. ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα, 'from what he saw, that' etc., for ἐκ τούτων ἃ ἑώρα. (ἑώρα δὲ) διακειμένους. τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις: c. 26, 3.

4. παριόντος, 'as he was going in.' Cp. *Theocr. Id.* xv 60 παρενθεῖν εὐμαρές;

5. λέγοντας sc. αὐτόν. *ἔτι δέ*, 'moreover,' as a further indication of the repugnance with which he was looked on by the assembled court officers.

6. ὁ χιλιάρχος, here used in its military sense, 'the commander of a thousand men,' Xen. *Anab.* VIII i 9, *Cyr.* II i 23. κατ' αὐτόν ἦν, 'was, as he was advancing to the presence of the king, close to him.'

8. ἀτρέμα στενάξας, 'with a subdued sigh,' c. 27, 1.

9. ὄφισ "Ελλην is appositive predicate to σύ understood. For "Ελλην as an adjective in prose, cp. Thuc. II 36, 4 "Ελληνα (?) πόλεμον, VII 42, 1, Xen. *An.* I x 7 τοὺς "Ελληνας πελαστας, VI v 28 οἱ "Ελληνες ἱππεῖς. It is frequently so used in poetry, cp. "Ελληνα φάτιν Aesch. *Ag.* 1263, στολὴν "Ελληνα Eur. *Herac.* 131, "Ελλην φόνος Med. 1331, "Ελληνος ἐκ γῆς *Iph. Taur.* 334. ποικίλος, 'subtle.' δαίμων: according to the religious ideas of the Persians (c. 28, 3) there were numberless good and bad spirits sent by the good and evil god respectively.

10. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 'however,' lit. 'his fears however (μὴν) were not justified but' etc. See c. 3, 2; c. 5, 4; c. 23, 3.

12. ἤδη, 'already,' with ὀφείλειν, c. 12, 2.

13. κομίσαντα αὐτόν, 'since he had brought himself.'

14. ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως, 'he would be entitled to receive, as his due.' Xen. *An.* VII vii 14 ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, 21, 25, *Symp.* c. 6, 1 τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον, sc. *iudicio addicta*, Andoc. 3 § 15 τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν, Arist. *Nub.* 1273 τὰ χρήματ' ἀπολαβεῖν, *ib.* 1283. τὸ ἐπικηρυχθέν, 'the price offered for his head to the man who should bring it.'

17. ἐδίδου, 'gave him leave.' ἀβούλιντο: G. § 247.

§ 21. 18. τὸν λόγον . . . διαφθεῖρειν, 'that human speech 45 resembled embroidered tapestry; for as the latter, when spread out, shows off its figures, so the former, but when folded up keeps them from view and spoils them.'

For instances of καί in apodosis, answering to ὡς in protasis, and assuming the relation, which οὕτω would have expressed, in addition to its proper meaning, cp. *Num.* c. 8, 4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τοῦτ' αὖτε πολιτείας ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀγνοεῖα καὶ διατριβή, *Mor.* 153 D ὡς οὖν ἐγένοντο τότε, καὶ γὰρ νῦν διηγέσσομαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, Xen. *Mem.* II ii 2, IV iv 7 ὥσπερ σύ, καὶ ἐγὼ αἶτι τὰ αὐτὰ λέγω, Thuc. II 98, 4 ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς, IV 8, 7; VII c. 43, 1 ὡς ἐπενόεε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν ἑπικολῶν ἐποιεῖτο, c. 60, 3; VIII c. 1, 5; c. 8, 3; c. 27, 5 ὡς δ' ἐπεισε καὶ ἔδρασε ταῦτα, Herod. I 79, 2 ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε, VII 128, 2, Ev. *Matth.* vi 10 γεννηθὲν τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν γῇ.



22. διαφθεΐρειν, by making them unrecognisable. So it will be, he means, with his own statement when imperfectly rendered by an interpreter: therefore he declines for the present to avail himself of the proffered leave to speak. *δεῖν*: c. 2, 2. *χρόνου δεῖν* i.e. to learn how *ἐκτείνειν ὡς στρώματα λόγον τὸν Περσικόν*.

23. τῇ εἰκασίᾳ, 'the simile,' *Mor.* 109 Ε τὸ τρίτον ἦν τοῦτο τῆς Σωκρατικῆς εἰκασίας, 765 Ε λέγοντες πρὸς τὸ ποικίλον τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γεγενῆσθαι τὴν εἰκασίαν. The figurative manner of speaking in use among Eastern nations pleased the king.

24. λαμβάνειν *sc.* χρόνον.

ἐνιαυτόν, '(one) year.' Cp. *Xen. Cyr.* I v 1 *ἡμέραν*, 'one day,' VI ii 34, *μῆνα*, 'one month' VII v 13. So *Thuc.* I 137, 4 *βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτὸς σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκω δηλώσαι*.

Philostratus (*Imagg.* II 31) after describing a portrait of Them. adds:—*Θεμιστοκλέα γάρ, οἶμαι, ἀκούεις, τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, Ἀθήνηθεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκειν μετὰ τὴν Σαλαμίνα τὴν θεῖαν ἀπορούντα ὅποι σωθήσεται ποτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ διαλέγεσθαι βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν στρατηγούντος αὐτοῦ ὁ Ξέρξης ὤνητο. ἐκπλήττει δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἀλλὰ τεθάρσκειν οἶον καθεστῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπου μηδίζων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐξεπύνησε γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῦτο*.

25. ἀποχρώντως, 'sufficiently.' *Thuc.* I 138, 1 *ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἡδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας*, *Nepos Them.* c. 10 *litteris sermonique Persarum se dedit, quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam si poterant qui in Perside erant natī*, but this is clearly an exaggerated statement.

26. ἐνετύγχανε: c. 27, 1. *δι' αὐτοῦ* (ἃ *δι'* ἐρμηνεύς. τοῖς ἐκτός) (τοῖς δυνατοῖς, those who did not belong to the court: cp. c. 26, 3.

27. δόξαν παρέσχε, 'gave occasion to fancy about him,' 'made them suppose.' Cp. c. 4, 3; c. 10, 5.

28. διεiléxθαι, 'that he had conversed.' πολλῶν καινοτομούντων περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, 'as many innovations were being introduced by the king about his court and his favourites at that time.' See n. to c. 3, 2.

30. φθόνον ἔσχε, 'incurred their dislike,' 'was a subject of their jealousy,' like *ἐλεον ἔχειν* c. 10, 5. Cp. *Isocr. Phil.* § 68 *τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων φθόνον ἔχει καὶ δυσμένειαν*, *Pind. Pyth.* XI 45 (29) *ἴσχει δλβος οὐ μέλινα φθόνον*. It also means 'to feel jealousy' as in *Aesch. Pr.* V. 859, just as *συγγνώμην ἔχειν* bears the double meaning of 'forgiving' and 'being forgiven.' *παρά, ἀπὸ*.

31. ὥς: c. 4, 3. κατ' ἐκείνων, 'to their prejudice.' παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι = παρρησιάζεσθαι, as in *Cor.* c. 18, 3, *Lys.* c. 22, 1, *Eum.* c. 2, 1, *Pomp.* c. 44, 1, *Mor.* 47 A, 66 A, 69 E, 70 E, 71 D, 190 F, 229 C, 716 B. The phrase παρρησίαν ἀγειν sometimes takes its place.

32. ἀποτετολμῆκώς, 'for having had the great presumption,' stronger than τετολμῆκώς.

§ 3 l. 32. οὐδὲ γάρ introduces a further reason for their dislike of him. Cp. *Thucyd.* i 138, 2 ἀφικόμενος γίνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδὲς πω Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἣν ὑπερθεῖ αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι. αἱ τιμαί, 'the honours conferred on him.'

33. κυνηγεσίῳ is from κυνηγέσιον, *venatio*. Cp. *Pelop.* c. 4, 1 παλαίστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια, *Sull.* c. 5, 1 κυνηγέσια λαμπρά, *Sert.* c. 13, 1 πλάνοις χρώμενος ἀεὶ καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ, *Artox.* c. 6, 2, *Pomp.* c. 51, 1 ἐν θήραις καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ, *Alex.* c. 40, 3 ἐν ταῖς στραταίαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίῳ, *Isocr. Areop.* § 45 περὶ τὰ . . κυνηγέσια διατρίβειν, *Xen. Cyr.* c. 3, 11 τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίῳ, c. 1, 12 τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίῳ, c. 2, 2 ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίῳ. The form κυνηγέσια is not used by Xenophon or Plutarch. Hunting was a very favourite amusement with the Persian kings, and preparations were often made for it on a large scale, as we know from *Xen. Cyr.* i iv 14 ff.

34. τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν, 'his indoor pastimes and pursuits.' See n. to c. 2, 3.

36. διακοῦσαι: c. 2, 3. τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, 'the religious doctrines of the Magians.' The ancient and venerable Magian religion was the worship of the elements, in which there were no temples, images or altars, but only sacrifice on the high mountains (*Herod.* i 131, *Strabo Geogr.* xv c. 3 § 13, *Diog. Laert. Proem.* §§ 6-9). This, however, was not the original religion of the Persians, whose most ancient belief was pure dualism. Rawlinson's *Herodotus* Vol. i *Essay* v p. 426 ff.

37. The following story comes from Phylarchus (*Müller F.H.G.* i 239) ap. *Suid.* s.v. *Τιάρα*. Demaratus was king of Sparta from about B.C. 510 to B.C. 491, when Cleomenes, his colleague, obtained his deposition by bribing the Delphic oracle. He thereupon went to the Persian court where he was favourably received by Darius. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, where he performed the part of the unheeded counsellor, *Herod.* vi 61-70, vii 101-105, 209, 234-5.

39. τὴν κίταριν. . . ἐπαίρομενος = ὀρθῇ τῇ κίτῳ (τιάρας l. 42), 'wearing his tiara upright, as the kings do.' The upright κίταρις (or κίταρις) was the symbol of royal dignity. Cp. Xen. *An.* II v 23 τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάναν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἐξέστιν ὀρθῇν ἔχειν, *Cyr.* VIII iii 13. Hence the joke in Arist. *An.* 487 where it is said of the cock that ἔχων, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας, διαβάσκει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβάσιαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθῇν. The royal bonnet worn by the kings of Persia, Armenia and Parthia differed from the ordinary tiara in being not flexible but tall, stiff and straight, like the crown of a hat. It was encircled by a blue diadem ornamented with white spots (Quint. Curt. III 3). These particulars, with the exception of the colour, are distinctly visible in the illustration from a Syrian medal representing Tigranes king of Armenia, given in A. Rich's *Illustrated Comp. to Gr. and Lat. Dict.* pp. 158<sup>b</sup>, 661<sup>b</sup>.

40. εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, 'to drive into and through Sardis.'

41. Μιθροπαύστης μὲν κτλ. answers to l. 45 ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως.

43. αὐτῇ μὲν . . . κεραυνόν: the tiara would want brains under it, and outward marks of distinction alone do not make the king.

46 44. ὃν ἐπικαλύψει, *quod tegat*; fut. ind. in a relative clause, expressing purpose, like a final clause, G. *MT.* § 565. Cp. Xen. *Cyr.* IV i 21, v ii 3, Thuc. VII 25, 1.

§ 4 l. 45. ἀπωσαμένου, 'giving him a repulse.'

46. ὀργῇ, 'angrily,' dat. of manner, as c. 12, 3 θυμῷ, c. 28, 1 σιωπῇ.

47. ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, 'to be inexorable towards him,' c. 2, 6, Polyb. XXI 14, 15 (XXI 31, 15 ed. Hultsch) πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν ἀπαραιτήτως, ἐλεεῖν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς.

48. δεηθεὶς . . . διήλλαξε, 'by his intercessions prevailed on the king and reconciled him to the offender.'

49. ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἀνεκράθησαν, 'in whose time Persian affairs were more mixed up with those of Greece.' The time meant is that subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when the Persians so often entered into relations with the individual states of Greece.

51. δσάκις δεηθεῖεν: G. *MT.* § 532, Ruth. § 297.

52. γράφειν <πρὸς> ἕκαστον: such is the conjectural emendation of Reiske (adopted by Blass, but not by Fuhr) for the reading of the MSS γράφειν ἕκαστον, where ἕκαστον is to

be taken as a collective singular in partitive apposition with the plural βασιλείς. ὥς ἔσονται, 'that he would be.' The fut. opt. is not so frequently used as the fut. ind. in indirect discourse after past tenses. G. MT. § 128.

53. παρ' αὐτῷ, *apud se*.

55. λαμπρὰς τραπέζης παραθείσης, 'when a magnificent banquet had been served to him.' For τράπεζα, *cibi mensae appositae*, cp. Herod. i 162 τὸν Ἀστυάγης ἀνδρὶ τραπεζῇ ἐδαισε, Eur. Alc. 2 θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι.

57. ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα, 'we should have been undone, but for our undoing.' He meant that exile had proved their salvation. Sintenis compares the saying of Demochares about the demagogue Stratocles 'μαίνοιτο μένταν, εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο' (Demetr. c. 24, 5) i.e. because his gross flattery, amounting to madness, was a source of gain to him. The story is repeated Mor. 185 F, 328 F, 602 A.

58. οἱ πλείστοι, as Thucydides (i 138, 5) ταύτης γὰρ ἤρχε τῆς χώρας (Μαγνησίας), δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ οἶνον, ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυινότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι, Μυῶντα δὲ ὄψον, Diod. Sic. xi 57, 7 ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ ἀπόδανσιν εὐθέτους, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαϊάνδρῳ, πλείστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσιν σίτον, εἰς ἄρτον, Μυῶντα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσιν θάλατταν εὐχθιν, Λάμψακον δὲ, ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσιν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον, Athenaeus i c. 54.

It was the custom of the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces, that is, in each case the portion of regal revenue or tribute levied in these districts was given up to them by the king. Cp. Xen. Anab. i iv 9 αἱ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουσαν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζῶντην δεδομένα. Plato (Alcib. i c. 40) tells us that many places were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe, one for her girdle, another for her head-dress etc., and that each place bore the name of that part of the dress which it was to furnish.

60. ὄψον: bread being regarded as the main nourishment, any articles of condiment as meat, fish or vegetables were included under the common name of ὄψον, Xen. Oecon. c. 5, 3 (ἢ γῆ) ὄψα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φύει τὰ δὲ τρέφει. In later writers the word was applied particularly to fish, and so Diodorus l.c. understands it here, for he observes that Myus was chosen to provide ὄψον, because it had near it θάλασσαν εὐχθιν. Magnesia, in the rich and fertile plain of the Maeander, the residence of Themistocles, was originally an Aeolian city, founded by Magnesians from Europe. It was destroyed in B.C. 726 and reoccupied by the Milesians.

61. Lampsacus in Mysia was one of the most famous Greek settlements on the Hellespont. It lay near the mouth of the

Propontis, nearly opp. to Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) on the Thracian coast; it was named Pityusa before the Milesians settled there. During the Ionian revolt it fell into the hands of the Persians (Herod. v 117). After the battle of Mycale in B.C. 479 it sided with Athens, but revolted from her after the failure of the Sicilian expedition; being however unfortified, it was easily retaken by Strombichides. Several distinguished men were born there, Charon the historian (c. 27, 1), Anaximenes the orator, and Metrodorus, the disciple of Epicurus. It was the chief seat of the worship of Priapus, hence called by Virgil (*Georg.* iv 111) *Hellespontiacus*. Myus was the smallest among the twelve Ionian cities. It was situated in Caria on the southern bank, about four miles from the mouth, of the Maeander. In the days of Strabo the population was so reduced that they abandoned their town and became incorporated with Miletus. Both Myus and Lampsacus, at least since the battle of Eurymedon (B.C. 466), belonged to the Athenian confederation: so that the assignment of their revenues to Them. could only have been nominal.

62. Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας: c. 1, 2. See also *Introduction*.

63. Percote (*Bergaz*) was on the S. side of the Hellespont between Abydos and Lampsacus (Strabo xiii 1, 20). It is mentioned by Homer *Il.* ii 835. Palaescepsis was the chief town in the interior of Mysia. In subsequent times Scepsis was the seat of a school of philosophy; and it was here that the library of Aristotle was buried in a cellar after the death of Neleus, who inherited it from Theophrastus. See my n. to *Sull.* c. 26, 1. εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην, 'for bedding and clothing.'

### CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. 1. καταβαίνοντι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις, 'as he was on his way to the sea-coast for the purpose of transacting some business relating (to the promised submission of) Hellas,' c. 29, 4.

3. τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας i.q. τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας )( τῆς παρ' Ἑλλάσποντον, 'inland' or Phrygia Maior, as it was called, to distinguish it from Phrygia Minor in Mysia on the Hellespont; it formed the central plateau of Asia Minor westward of the river Halys (Herod. v 52), comprising the upper valley of the Maeander. See Xen. *Cyr.* i 4 with my note.

4. παρεσκευάσας, 'having procured,' 'suborned.' *Cat. ma.* c. 15, 1 αὐτὸς διώκουσιν ἑτέροις συνηγωνίσαστο καὶ παρεσκεύασεν δλωρ διώκοντας. For other instances of this meaning see my n. to *Timol.* c. 16, 3.

5. ἔκπαλαι = ἐκ παλαιού, *iam dudum*, 'for a long time back.'

Phrynichus (ed. Lobeck p. 45) says ἀπόπαλαι, ἔκπαλαι, ἀμφοῖν δυσχέραινε· ἐκ παλαιού γὰρ χρή λέγειν. Εἰς is used in a prepositional meaning with adverbs of time, in the Attic period, as εἰσότῃ, εἰς τότε, εἰς πότῃ, εἰς αἰῃ, εἰς ὧσῃ, εἰσάπαξ, εἰς αὐθις, εἰς ἔπειτα, εἰς αὐτίκα, εἰς ὕστερον, εἰς τῆμος, εἰς αὐριον. But ἔκτοτε did not come into use until after the Attic period, though ἐξότῃ is found in Aristoph. *Av.* 334. Similarly ἔκπαλαι is only found in such writers as Arrian, Apollonius, Josephus, Apollodorus. Plutarch uses it several times, *Arist.* c. 17, 1 ἔκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργών, *Nic.* c. 9, 3 ἔκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγομένων, *Demetr.* c. 52, 2 τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἔκπαλαι ποθῶν, *Timol.* c. 10, 4 καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἔκπαλαι προθύμως Ἀνδρομάχου, *comp. Sertior.* c. *Eum.* c. 1, 2 οἱ μὲν ἔκπαλαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδούλενον.

Πισίδας, Pisidians, inhabitants of the mountain district between Phrygia and Pamphylia, who were men of predatory habits. ἀποκτενοῦντας, future participle of purpose, c. 23, 3.

6. ὅταν . . . καταυλισθῇ, 'whenever he should arrive at the so-called village of Leontocephalon and take up his quarters there.' For γίνεσθαι with prepos., cp. c. 2, 1 and see my lex. to Xen. *Cyr.* Vol. III p. 232<sup>b</sup>. Λεοντοκέφαλον, 'Lion's Head,' is mentioned also by Arrian *Mithr.* c. 19 ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλὴν, ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον Φρυγίας.

8. μεσημβρίας, 'at noon.' τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, Magna mater, Rhea, Cybele or Cybēbe, the mountain goddess, the great centre of whose worship was at Pessinus in Phrygia, under the shadow of Mount Dindymon (hence her name Dindymene), on which was a cave containing what was believed to be the oldest of her sanctuaries. *δναρ*: c. 26, 2. Cobet *var. lect.* p. 525.

9. ὑστέρει, 'be too late for,' 'miss,' an intentionally ambiguous expression for 'avoid.'

10. μὴ περιπέσῃς, 'lest you should fall into the jaws of,' c. 15, 2. ἀντὶ τούτου, 'in return for this warning.'

11. σὲ αἰτῶ . . . Μνησιπτολέμαν, 'I require of you Mnesiptolema (one of his daughters, c. 32, 1) for a handmaid.' The first of the two following participles is causal, the second temporal.

13. τὴν λεωφόρον *sc.* ὁδόν (λεώς, φέρω), 'the highway' to the coast, ἀφῆκε, *omisit*, 'gave up.' Cp. Thucyd. VIII 41, 1 εὐθὺς ἀφείλῃς τὸ ἐς τὴν Σίον ἔπλει ἐς τὴν Καῦνον. *ἑτέρα sc.* ὁδῷ.

14. παραλλάξας, 'passing by,' properly, 'changing one's position relatively to another object.'

Cp. *Pelop.* c. 23, 4 ἡ φάλαγξ ἐπιφερομένη μόνους ἐκείνοις καὶ παραλλάττουσα τοὺς ἄλλους, *Pyrrh.* c. 7, 3 γενομένης δὲ διαμαρτίας καθ' ὁδὸν ἀλλήλους παρήλλαξαν, *Ages.* c. 34, 3 μικρὸν ἐδέησε παραλλάξας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον

ἔρμον ἐξαίφνης καταλαβείν τὴν πόλιν, *Cim.* c. 1, 2 ἄρτι τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλλαχότος, *Alcib.* c. 7, 1 τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλάσσων, *Xen. Hell.* v i 12 ἐπεὶ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, *Polyb.* v 80, 4 παραλλάξας τὴν πόλιν, *XV* 2, 8 εἰς παραλλάξωσι τὸν Μακάραν ποταμόν. For the meaning of the perf. pass. partic., see note on c. 24, 2.

§ 2 l. 15. τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐνός, *unum ex iumentis*, the numeral adjective being almost equivalent to the indefinite pronoun—an usage not uncommon with the partitive genitive, but without it, peculiar to later Greek. Cp. *Arat.* c. 5 ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ἐνός, *Ξενοκλέους*, ἀδελφός, *Cleom.* c. 7, 2 τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα, *Thuc.* I 85, 3 εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὢν, *Isaeus* III 57 ξενίας φεύγων ὑπὸ ἐνός τῶν φρατόρων.

16. σκηνήν, the 'tent' under which he passed the night, which would be taken down in the morning and carried with the rest of the baggage by the sumpter-beasts (ὑποζύγια). τὸν ποταμόν, 'the river of the place.'

18. ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον, 'had spread them out and were drying them.' *Sull.* c. 29, 3 διαλιπὼν ὅσον ἀναψύσαι τὸν ἰδρώτα τῶν ἵππων.

19. τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες, 'with their swords drawn.' ἐν τούτῳ, 'at that moment.'

20. προσεφέροντο, *accurrebant*, 'were coming to attack them,' c. 14, 2; c. 15, 2. τὰ ψυχόμενα, 'what was left to dry.'

πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, 'by moonlight,' with ἰδόντες.

Cp. *Mor.* 298 B πρὸς ἥλιον ὁπῶσι τὰ κρέα, *Xen. Hell.* v i 9 ναυμαχίας πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, *Menander (Fr. Com. Gr. ed. Kock* III 105) πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔτρεχε τὴν σκιὰν ἰδών, where the ed. wrongly conjectures τῆς σελήνης, *Xen. Oecon.* c. 16, 13 ὁπῆν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, *Arist. Vesp.* 804 ἐστῶσα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, *Nub.* 632, *Luke* xxii 56, *Mark* xiv 54 πρὸς τὸ φῶς, *Pac.* 1131 πρὸς πῦρ διέλκων, *Herod.* II 92, 4 ταῦτα τὰ κρίνεα ἀναίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, *Timocl. Philod. fr.* 1 (*Kock* II p. 465) τῶν πρὸς εἰλην ἰχθύων ὠπημένων.

23. ἀναπανόμενον, 'taking his rest.' τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστειλον, 'were drawing back (or raising) the curtain.'

24. οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες : c. 26, 1.

25. συλλαμβάνουσι : c. 6, 2.

26. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ, 'the manifestation' of the presence of the goddess in aid of her worshipper.

*Diod. Sic.* I c. 25, 2 φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν Ἴσιν . . . κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τοῖς ἀξιούσι διδόναι βοηθήματα φανερώς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν (*praesentiam suam declarare*, *Cic. de nat. d.* 2, 2, 6), 4 διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπειαῖς ἐπιφάνειαν, *Dion. Halic.* II 68, 1 πάντ' ὅ' ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἰστορῆσαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἣν ἐπεδείξατο ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγκληθείσαις παρθένοις. The same writer ib. censures the atheistic philosophers ἀπάσας διασπύροντας ('disparaging') τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάρους γενομένας as human inventions, ὡς οὐδενὶ θεῶν μέλον ἀνθρώπων οὐδενός.

27. τῆς θεοῦ : c. 21, 2. κατεσκεύασεν, 'built.' Cp. c. 31, 1:

28. For Δινδυμήνης, see n. to l. 8.

29. *ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν*, 'appointed (her) its priestess.' Herod. III 63 τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδειξε, Xen. *Anab.* I i 2 στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων δοσι κτλ.

## CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1 l. 1. *ὡς ἦλθεν . . . καὶ ἔθεάτο*, 'when he had arrived and was viewing leisurely.'

2. *τὴν κατασκευὴν*, 'the (beautiful) architecture of the temple.'

*κατασκευή* is applied by Thucyd. (I 10, 2) to public and private edifices, with their internal arrangements, of a city (*εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθεῖα λειφθεῖα δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη*). Cp. comp. *Per. c. Fab.* c. 3, 4 *κατασκευαῖς οἰκοδομημάτων*, *Alc.* c. 36, 2 *ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευὴν*, *Arist.* c. 24, 4 *κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν*, *Lucill.* c. 39, 1 *οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν*, *Ages.* c. 19, 5 *οἰκίᾳς κατασκευῆν*, *Mor.* 409 A, 785 F *κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων νεοπρεπεῖς*.

3. *ἀναθημάτων*, 'votive offerings,' c. 5, 3; c. 15, 2.

48

4. *τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον*, 'the so-called water-carrier,' a work of art known by that name. It may have been one of those which were taken by Xerxes from Athens and returned by Alexander the Great, together with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the work of Praxiteles (*Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxiv c. 8, 19, 70).

5. *μέγεθος διπλήχυν*, 'two cubits in height.'

6. *ὕδατων ἐπιστάτης*, 'warden of the water-supply.' It is not certain whether this officer was one of the regular commissioners of the public works (*ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων*, *ἀστυνόμοι*, *praefecti operum*) at Athens or not. A similar officer was appointed for the care of the roads (*δοδοποιός*) Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 25. The water wardenship was a very important office in a country like Attica, where the supply was deficient. One of his chief duties would be to superintend the public supply of water from the Cephissus and other small streams and conduits, and see that no one drew off (*ὑφαίρεισθαι*) more than he was entitled to, or diverted their course (*παροχετεύειν*).

For *Ἀθήνησσι*, cp. c. 1, 1.

7. *ἐλὼν*, 'convicting,' a regular Attic law-term, like *φεύγων*, *ἀποφεύγων*, *διώκων*. *παροχετεύοντας*: cp. *Cat. ma.* c. 19, 1 *ἀποκόπτων ὀχετοῦς, οἷς τὸ παρρρέον δημόσιον ὕδωρ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπήγον εἰς οἰκίας ἰδίας καὶ κήπους*.



8. ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, 'had got made out of the fines (of those who had paid their forfeits) and dedicated.' So, as we are told by Pausanias (v 21, 2), the Eleans had certain statues of Zeus made in bronze with the fines paid by athletes (ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα). For ποιησάμενος, cp. c. 5, 4; for ἐκ τῆς ζημίας, c. 4, 1 ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις, and for ἀνέθηκεν, c. 5, 2; c. 15, 4.

εἴτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς, 'whether it was because his feelings were touched at,' 'he was affected by.'

Cp. Dem. c. 10, 3 τοῦτο μὲν ἄδλον εἴτε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴτε πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπεπόνθει, Sol. c. 27, 3 οὐτ' ἐπαθεν οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὕψιν, ὣν ὁ Κροῖσος προσεδόκησε, Lys. c. 2, 1 βούλονται γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πᾶσχειν τι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς δόξαν, Mor. 682 B καλὸς ἐαυτῷ φανείας καὶ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν ὕψιν, 749 D ἐπαθέ τι πρὸς τὸ μεράκιον αὐτή.

12. λόγον . . . προσήνεγκεν, 'addressed a proposal.' Cp. Arist. c. 16, 1 Πανσανίας Ἀριστείδῃ προσέφερε λόγον, ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι.

14. χαλεπαίνοντος : c. 19, 1.

§ 2 l. 16. εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν κατέφυγε, 'had recourse to the satrap's harem' to intercede for him. Artox. c. 28, 1 τοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδυνόμενον τοῖς πράγμασιν.

18. ἐκείνον κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς, constr. like παθεῖν. Fuhr reads κατέπαυσε cl. Philor. c. 16, 1. He also suggests the omission of τῆς ὀργῆς.

19. παρείχεν ἐαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, 'showed himself more circumspect,' c. 5, 4.

20. καὶ τὸν φθόνον . . . δεδοικώς, not 'the jealousy as well as the enmity' (Reiske), for καὶ belongs to the whole sentence and not to φθόνον only. οὐ γάρ belongs to the participial clause, not to διῆγε, 'for he did not travel about Asia (because of their jealousy) but lived quietly at Magnesia.'

21. Θεόπομπος : See Introduction.

22. ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ οἰκῶν : To the period of his rule in Magnesia a most interesting numismatic monument belongs, of which two specimens only have been preserved—that in the British Museum is plated, the other is silver. The coin represents on the obverse Apollo with only a chlamys over his shoulders, leaning on a long staff in his left hand, from which a branch of laurel springs, with the inscription ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ engraved in characters of the middle of the fifth century, and on the reverse a raven, the bird of augury, with extended wings, and the letters ΜΑ below. A specimen of the coin is engraved in Waddington *Mélanges de Numismatique*

Pl. I, 2 and *Revue Numismatique* p. 47 ff., which is reproduced in Baumeister *Denkmäler* III p. 1762<sup>b</sup>. **καρπούμενος δωρεάς**, 'in the enjoyment of presents (from the king)', c. 32, 4. Diod. XI 58, 1 *ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος*.

23. **ὁμοία**, 'in like manner.'

Cp. *Caé. ma.* c. 11, 4 **ὁμοία τοῖς πρώτον ἀπομόνοις πολιτείας**, *Galb.* c. 1, 4 *τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὁμοία τοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς πάθεσι* . . . *κατελάμβανεν*, *Αἴτωρ.* c. 27, 5 *εὐημερῶν ὁμοία τοῖς πρώτοις*, *Thuc.* I 26, 4 *χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες ὁμοία τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις*, VII 29, 4 *τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ φονικώτατόν ἐστι*, *Herod.* III 57, 2 **ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις**.

24. **τοῖς ἀρίστοις**, 'the chief men,' 'nobles,' c. 19, 3. **ἀδεῶς**, 'quietly,' 'unmolested,' partly in opp. to *πλανώμενος*, partly to what follows. **οὐ πάνυ τι**: c. 4, 2.

26. **προσέχοντας**: c. 2, 4. **ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις**, 'owing to his engagements about affairs in the interior,' above all the rising in Bactria. For *ἀσχολιῶν*, cp. c. 18, 3.

§ 3 l. 27. **Αἴγυπτος ἀφισταμένη**, 'the revolt of Egypt,' which happened in B.C. 460 under the leadership of Inarôt the Libyan, who, acc. to Herod. (VII 7, 6), began his insurrection with the assassination of the Persian governor Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes, who had been sent there after the suppression of the revolt of B.C. 486. *Thuc.* I 104 says that the Athenians sent ships from Cyprus to his assistance.

30. **ἀναπλέουσai**: c. 16, 2.

31. **ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν**, 'caused him (the king) 49 to direct, withdrew, his attention to making a counter attack on the Greeks.'

Cp. *Rompr.* c. 25, 1 *τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέστρεψε θλιβομένους τῇ ἀγορᾷ* . . . *ἐκπέμψαι Πομπήιον ἀφαιρησόμενον τῶν πειρατῶν τὴν θάλασσαν*. Lexicographers ignore this meaning of the verb. It corresponds to the use of the middle with the meaning 'to pay regard to,' (1) with the gen., *Soph. Phil.* 599, *Plut. Mor.* 482 c *τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρεφόμεναι*, 881 b *τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων*, *Theognis* v. 440 *τῶν ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφεται*, *Philostr.* *jun. imagg.* c. 6 *οὐδὲν ἐπιστρεφόμενος τοῦ πτωκὸς πλησίον ὄντος*; (2) absolutely, *Dem. c. Aristocr.* § 136. In [*Dem.*] *Phil.* IV § 9 the reading is doubtful.

32. **κωλύειν αὐξανόμενους**: cp. *Thucyd.* I 26, 2 *μὴ κωλύοντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι*, *Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom.* VII 25, 3 *εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα*. Hence Blass' conjectural reading *κολοῦειν* is need. less. **ἐπ' αὐτόν**, 'against him,' with *αὐξανόμενους*.

33. **δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο**, 'forces were in movement.'

34. διαπέμποντο, 'were being despatched hither and thither,' cp. διαφέρεσθαι c. 14, 3. κατέβαινον: c. 26, 1.

36. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι, 'to tackle Hellenic affairs in earnest.' Cp. Diod. Sic. XIII c. 10 ἐξήπτοντο τῆς μάχης.

37. οὕτε δι' ὀργήν τινα κτλ., the beginning of the conclusion to the sentence commencing ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτος l. 27.

39. πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον may be taken either with ἐπαρθεῖς or with δυνάμει. Sintenis suggests that πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων would form a better antithesis to κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

40. ὥς μὲν answers τὸ δὲ πλείστον. οὐδ' ἐφικτόν, 'not so much as attainable, feasible,' even if he had wished. ἡγούμενος, causal, answering to αἰδοῖ. Thucydides also refers to the same cause I 138, 2 γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας . . . διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ (sc. βασιλεῖ) δουλώσειν . . . νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσθαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο, Ctm. c. 18, Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογνοῦς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν υπερβαλόμενος τὴν Κίμωνος εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἐκὼν τελευτήσῃ.

§ 4 l. 42. στρατηγός, Pericles, Myronides, Tolmidas, Leocrates.

ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος, 'being marvellously successful.'

Plutarch is very fond of the verb εὐημερεῖν. Dem. c. 5, 3 εὐημερήσαντος τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφυῶς, Fab. c. 25, 3, Alc. c. 16, 4; c. 34, 1, comp. Alc. et Cor. c. 3, 3, Arist. c. 25, where δυστυχούντος . . . εὐημεροῦντι are opposed, comp. Ctm. et Luc. c. 2, 4, Crass. c. 7, 1 ἡνία Πομπήσιος αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις, Eum. c. 1, 1, Alex. c. 29, 4 Δύκωνος εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῇ θεατρῷ, Cat. ml. c. 46, 4, Cic. c. 25, 2; c. 85, 3 φιλοτιμούμενος Ὀρτύνσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν εὐημερήσαντα, Demetr. c. 27, 2 εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στεργομένη, Dion. c. 52, 2, Brui. c. 21, 8 εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, c. 39, 4 ἐν ταῖς ἀψιμαχίαις εὐημεροῦντας, Attica. c. 27, 5 νῦν μὲν ἐνημερῶν ὅμοια τοῖς πρώτοις, νῦν δὲ προσκρούων, Attica. c. 30, 1; c. 35, 3.

44. αἰδοῖ, corresponding to the previous participial clause, 'out of regard for,' because he would not tarnish his glory, and disgrace the great trophies he had won.

45. ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος, 'determining as his best course.'

46. πρέπουσαν, predicative.

47. δεξιωσάμενος, 'after shaking hands with, taking leave of,' c. 13, 2.

48. ὡς ὁ πολλὸς λόγος sc. ἐστί, c. 27, 2, 'as the common story goes,' referred to by Aristophanes (Eq. 83 where one slave of Demos says to his fellow-slave:—

βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἶμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,  
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος)

and vouched for by Clitarchus and Stratocles, although Cicero *Brut.* § 43 professes to disbelieve the story, and 'puts into the mouth of his fellow-dialogist Atticus a just rebuke of the facility with which historical truth was sacrificed to rhetorical purpose' (Grote): — *nam quem Thucydides (I 138) tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse mortem, hunc isti (Clitarchus et Stratocles) aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset, exceperisse sanguinem patera et eo potu mortuum concidisse.*

Cp. Diod. xi 58, 3, Val. Max. v 6 ext. 3 on the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood, and cp. Schol. Nicandr. *Alexiph.* 812 τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα φησι Πραξαγόρας πινόμενον πηγνύσθαι ἐν τῷ στήθει καὶ θρομβοῦσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸ συνεχόμενον τῶν πνοῶν θήσκειν ποιεῖ, Arist. *Hist. An.* iii 19 τάχιστα δὲ πηγνύται τὸ τοῦ ταύρου αἷμα πάντων, Discorides *Alexiph.* c. 25. Plutarch (*Flamin.* c. 20, 5) says that the death of Hannibal, like that of Midas, king of Phrygia (Strabo *Geogr.* i 3, 22), was attributed by some authorities to the swallowing of bull's blood; Herodotus (iii 15) relates that Cambyzes compelled Psammenitus to drink it, and that it presently caused his death, and Ctesias (*Persica* c. 10), that Tanaxares, the brother of Cambyzes, was similarly dealt with. Cp. also Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi 90, 221 *taurorum (sanguis) celerrime coit atque durescit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

49. ἐνιοι sc. λέγουσιν, implied in λόγος. φάρμακον ἡμέρον, *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* vi 4), 'some quickly-operating poison,' 'one that kills on the same day.' προσενεγκάμενος, *ori suo admovens, sumens*, 'taking.' Xen. *Cyr.* iv ii 41 τοσοῦτον σίτον προσφέρεισθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς, *Sympr.* iv 41 πολλὸν πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμείνας τὸ δεινὸν προσφέρωμαι, Aesch. *Tim.* § 145 πάντων αὐτὸν κελυβάντων λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον προσενέγκασθαι.

50. κατέστρεψε sc. τὸν βίον, 'ended his life.' *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 3, *Thes.* c. 19, 4 etc. Nepos *Them.* c. 10, 4:—*de (Themistoclis) morte multis modis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret.*

51. πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα: for the use of the article, see *HA. Gr.* § 664 b.

52. ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις, 'in the discharge of civil and military functions.'

56. χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως, 'continued to treat them with friendly kindness.'

## CHAPTER XXXII

50 § 1 l. 1. **παῖδας**, 'sons,' predicative. **ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης** : **ἐκ** δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμθείσης should have followed, but the construction is altered.

3. **Ἀλωπεκήθεν**, of Alopeke, a deme in the phyle Antiochis.

4. **Πλάτων** : *Μερον* 93 D ἡ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν υἱὸν ἱππεία μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθὸν ; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ὀρθὸς ἐστηκὼς καὶ ἡκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν ὀρθός.—'Ἀκήκοα—τί διὰ τόδε ;' Ὡς Κλεόφαντος ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἅπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἥδη τοῦ ἀκήκοας ἢ νεωτέρου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ;—Οὐ δῆτα. There is a worthless anecdote told in Plutarch *de ed. liber.* c. 2 (*Mor.* 1 c) about a son of Them., where we should probably read Cleophantus for Diophantus :—**Διόφαντον** γοῦν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους πολλὰκις λέγουσι φάναι καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ὡς ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνδοκεῖ τῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ· ἃ δ' ἂν ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ἃ δ' ἂν Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7. **Νεκλῆς** : Neocles, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

8. **Δυσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποίησατο**, 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' *Sol.* c. 7, 2 **παῖδα θετὸν ἐσχε ποιησάμενος** αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

9. **πλείους**, 'several.'

10. **ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμθείσης**, 'by his second wife.' **Ἐπιγαμεῖν** is 'to marry besides' i.e. 'to take a second wife,' in reference to the children by the first, as appears from *Cat. ma.* c. 27, 5 ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμθείσης, c. 24, 5 ἐπιγήμεντα τοῖς ἐνηλίκους ('of age') παισὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν, *Arist. c. Cat. comp.* c. 6, 1 ἐνηλικῶ παιδί . . . ἐπιγήμεαι κέρην ὑπέρτερον πατρός, *Eur. Alc.* 305 μή 'πιγήμες τοῖσδε μητρικῶν τέκνοις. *Diod. Sic.* xi 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife *Περσίδα εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρονσαν* ἔτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of Mnesiptolema (c. 30, 2).

11. **οὐκ ὦν ὁμομήτριος** : *Nep. Cim.* c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere.*

14. **ἀδελφίδους**, 'nephew.'

16. **ἀδελφῶν**, who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (**κύριοι**).

17. *ἔθραψε*, 'brought up.' The subject is Phrasicles, not, as Reiske understands, Themistocles.

§ 21. 18. *τάφος*: Thuc. i 138, 5 *μημείων αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were sometimes buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. v c. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (*Timol.* c. 39, 4).

19. *περὶ τῶν λειψάνων κτλ.*: Thucydides (i 138, 6) *τὰ δὲ δστὰ φασὶ κομσθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἰκαδε κελύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ* οὐ γὰρ ἐξήν *θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος*. Nepos gives the statement as if Thuc. had himself affirmed it.

20. *οὔτε* corresponds to *ἄτε Φύλαρχος*. *προσέχειν*: c. 31, 2.

21. *ἄξιον* *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'it is fitting.'

*ἐν τῷ* *sc. λόγῳ*, 'in his political pamphlet addressed to the associates' i.e. members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhnken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andocides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in B.C. 411. But the breach of Andocides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415 B.C., was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411, he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420-418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cp. Plut. *Alc.* c. 13.' Prof. Jebb *Attic Orators* Vol. i p. 139 f.

24. *παροξύνων*, 'meaning to exasperate,' c. 7, 4; c. 23, 1.

25. *ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ*: c. 10, 1. Notice the omission of the prepos. before *τῇ ἱστορίᾳ*, which, in similes where it is wished to bring the objects compared into the closest possible union, is very idiomatic.

Cp. *Tim.* c. 1, 1 *ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμωσγέτως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον*, *Anist.* c. 9, 5 *ἐλπίτων χρυσῶν ἐκπομμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημιαῖς διαφερομένων*, *Atat.* c. 38, 8 *καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορεύων*, c. 41, 2 *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσούτῳ σάλῳ διαφερόμενος*, *Mor.* 606 D *ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος*, *Rompr.* c. 51, 1 *ὥσπερ ἐν θύραις καὶ κυνηγεσίᾳ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάζων*, *Suill.* c. 22, 1 *πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφύροντο*, *Arrian Anab.* 3, 8, 7 *οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρή πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ*, *Plato rep.* 545 E *ὡς πρὸς παῖδας ἡμᾶς παιζούσας*, *Tim.* 79 A *ρεῖν ὥσπερ δι' αὐλῶνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ποιεῖ ρεύματα*, 81 D *κάρπον δρέψαντες ὡς εἰς ἀρουραν τὴν μήτραν*, *Xen. Cyr.* i vi 4, viii ii 12, *Diodor. Sic.* xviii 32 *καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος ὄχυρόν τὴν τῶν πεσῶν φάλαγγα κατέφυγον*, *Lucian de salt.* c. 81 *ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῷ ὀρχηστῇ ἑαυτὸν βλέπῃ*.

*μονονού*, *tantum non*, 'all but.'

26. *μηχανὴν ἄρας*, 'lifting a machine' i.e. employing stage machinery, c. 10, 1. Cp. *Mor.* 345 F:—*οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορι-*

κοί, Κλειτόδημοι Δίλυοι Φιλόχορος Φύλαρχος άλλοτρίων γεγονάσιν ἔργων ὥσπερ δραμάτων ὑποκριταί, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδύμενοι μῆμαις ἴν' ὡς αὐγῆς τιωos καὶ φωτὸς μετέσχουσιν. This judgment on Phylarchus, as is pointed out by Bauer *Them. u. s. w.* p. 142 n. 2, does not proceed from Plutarch himself, but he follows herein Polybius, who (II 56, 8) incidentally avails himself of the opportunity of giving his opinion of Phylarchus, in defining the difference between Tragedy and History; Phylarchus, he says, is fond of introducing stirring scenes, ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν πειρώμενος ἐκάστοις δὲ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δεινὰ. προαγαγόν, 'bringing forward on the stage.' τινά, *nescio quem*, ironically.

- 51 27. ἀγῶνα κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, 'to excite a struggle of feeling and emotion' (in the spectators), 'to make a moving scene.' Cp. *Sol.* c. 7, 4 τοῦ μέλλοντος ὠδῶνας δὲ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ στερήσονται, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. VII c. 71, 1.

28. οὐδ' . . . ὁ τυχάν, 'not even an ordinary person.'

29. πέπλασται sc. ταῦτα.

§ 3 l. 29. Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer,' an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 308, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylae, (1) περὶ δῆμων, (2) περὶ μνημάτων, 'on monuments'; the latter work is quoted in the *X orr. vit.* 849 c. He is quoted again in *Thes.* c. 36, 3, *Cim.* c. 16, 1, Athenae. XIII 591 e. Diogen. Laert. IV 2 quotes from the first book of the ἀπομνημονεύματα of one Diodorus, but, as there are five writers of that name mentioned by Athenaeus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

30. ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον, 'rather in the form of a surmise,' 'from conjecture.'

31. τὸν μέγαν λιμένα, the Piraeus proper, or largest of the three harbours (Pausanias I 1, 2) of the Piraeic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the modern Greeks themselves *Dráko*, the other two being Munychia (*Phanari*) and Zea (*Stratitiotiki* or *Paschaliméni*). Its northern and largest portion called the Emporium was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and was named Cantharus (Arist. *Pax* 145).

32. ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου, 'from the headland opposite (c. 14, 2) Alcimus,' which must have been Etioneia, or the narrow tongue of land which projects into

the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. VIII 90, 3) and towards which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χηλαί* (Thuc. VIII 90, 4). It is supposed that Alcimus was the name given to the colossal lion of white marble (whence also its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A.D. 1687.

33. *πρόκειται*, 'juts out.' *οἷον ἀγκῶν*, 'as it were an elbow.'

34. *κάμψαντι τοῦτον* *sc. ἀγκῶνα*, 'after doubling this fore-land'; dative of relation, belonging to the whole sentence, frequent in local designations, G. § 184, 5, H.A. § 771 b. Cp. *Mor.* 862 *ε* καθ' ἡσυχίαν Σούνιον κάμψαντες, 967 *β* ἀνεμῶδες τι μέλλουσai κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον, Herod. IV 43 κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον, VII 122, 193, Polyb. I 25, 8 κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερήραν, 39, 5 κάμψαντες τὸ Λιλύβαιον, but in Arist. *Ach.* 96 *περι ἀκρὰν κάμπτων. ἧ τὸ ὑπεύδιον* *sc. ἐστὶ*, 'where the still water is.'

35. *κρητὶς εὐμεγέθης*, 'a good-sized foundation,' c. 8, 2.

*τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδές*, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.' From the manner in which Plutarch in the description of Themistocles' tomb refers to other writers, Leake infers that there were no remains of it even in his (Plutarch's) day.

Aristotle also (*Hist. An.* VI p. 569b, 12) speaks of a *Θεμιστόκλειον* at Athens. The account of Pausanias (I 1, 2) is that in his day there existed *πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους· φασὶ γὰρ μεταμεληῖσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκοντες τὰ ὅσα κομισαίεν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφὴν ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος.*

36. *οἴεται*, 'he (Diodorus) supposes.' Plutarch lays stress on the fact that the application of Plato's lines to Themistocles is only a conjecture.

37. Plato, one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, flourished from B.C. 428 to B.C. 389. His *Cleophon* gained the third prize in B.C. 405 when Aristophanes was first with the *Frogs*. *αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν*, 'is a witness in his favour.' *ἐν τούτοις*, 'in the following lines,' of which Themistocles is assumed to be the subject.

39. *ἐν καλῷ*, 'in a good place,' because it was so full of life and animation. According to Greek notions, the more beautiful and conspicuous the site, the more honourable the tomb. Cp. *Per.* c. 30, 2 on that of Anthemocritus at Dipylum, where it was seen by Pausanias. Cp. Alciphr. *Ep.* III 20 *ἀγχι*



μέ τις λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθίσας ἐν καλῷ, Philostr. *Heroic*. p. 10 βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰζῆσαι, Aelian *var. hist.* II 13 καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ παρὴν (Socrates) οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι κωμωδοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο, Arist. *Thest.* 292.

ποῦ ποῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ῥητόρων  
 ἔν' ἐξακούω ;

40. πρόσρησις, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχοῦ, because visible on all sides.

42. χάποταν ἀμιλλ' sc. ἤ, 'whenever there is a race' between galleys, which, we know, was a part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. II p. 90 ff. 1881. Cp. Herod. VII 44. θεάσεται sc. αὐτήν.

§ 4 l. 43. τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους for τοῖς ἀπογόνους.

44. φυλαττόμεναι, 'maintained,' 'kept up.'

Cp. Pausan. I 37, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνημα τέθαιται μὲν 'Ἡλιδώρος' Ἀλκί... τέθαιται δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους Πολιάρχου, τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξη καὶ Μήδοις ἐναντία ναυμαχίσαντος. From a recently discovered Inscription we learn that the people of Lampsacus also kept an annual festival in honour of Themistocles, and that Cleophantus and his descendants received marks of honour from them.

46. ἡμέτερος συνήθης, *noster familiaris*, an adjective used substantively, as *iniquus*, *invidus*, *intimus* in Latin; see my n. to Cic. *or. p. Plancio* c. 1, 1.

47. παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' the Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, who was Plutarch's instructor at Athens. See *Introduction*.

## INDICES

*I INDEX DITIONIS*

*II INDEX RERUM ET NOMINUM*

*III INDEX AUCTORUM*

The References are by Chapter and Section.

The small-type Numerals suffixed to words denote respectively :

- <sup>1</sup> Words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek, and not used by the best Classical Prose Authors.
- <sup>2</sup> Words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical.
- <sup>3</sup> Poetical words.
- <sup>4</sup> Words found only once in Plutarch.
- <sup>5</sup> Ionic words.

# INDEX I GREEK

## A

ἀγαθὸς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γεν-  
 ἔσθαι 7 2, 14 2; ἀ. ποιητής  
 5 4; οἱ ἀριστοὶ 19 3, 31 2;  
 ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος 31 4  
 ἀγαπᾶν w. acc. 26 1  
 ἀγασθαί τινα τινος 12 3  
 ἀγγελίαι 31 3  
 ἀγειν Ὀλύμπια 17 2; ἀγειν  
 σχολήν 31 1  
 ἀγκῶν 32 3  
 ἀγροεῖν 25 2, 32 2.—PASS. 26 1  
 ἀγριος 26 2  
 ἀγρυπνεῖν 3 3  
 ἀγων 3 3, 5 3, 11 2, 13 2, 32 2  
 ἀγωνίσασθαι 25 1  
 ἀγωνιστής (subst.) 17 2; (as  
 adj.) ἀγωνιστὰς ἵππους 25 1  
 (unclassical)  
 ἀδελφίδους 32 1  
 ἀδεῶς 31 2  
 ἀδῆλως χαλεπαίνειν 19 1  
 ἀδικεῖν τινα 19 1  
 ἀδοξος πόδις 2 3  
 ἀεί transposed 26 3  
 Ἀθήνησι 1 1, 31 1  
 ἀθραυστος<sup>1</sup> 4 4  
 ἀθροῖζεν: PASS. ἡθροιστο 11 2  
 ἀθροῦς (of an individual), *omni-*  
*bis corporis* 12 1  
 ἀθυμεῖν ἐπὶ τινι 7 4

αἰγιαλός, 'a beach' 8 2, 12 1  
 αἰδώς: αἰδοῖ 31 4  
 αἷμα ταυρεῖον 31 3  
 αἰνίττεσθαι (DEF. MED.) 5 1  
 αἶρειν, 'to start' 11 2; αἶρειν  
 μηχανήν 10 1, 32 2.—MED.  
 αἶρεσθαι νίκην 15 2  
 αἰρεῖν (law-term) 31 1.—MED.  
 = προαιρεῖσθαι: αἰρούμενος τὰ  
 βασιλέως, *partes regis am-*  
*plexus* 12 2.—MED. et PASS.  
 de magistratibus 18 1  
 αἶρσις 2 4  
 αἰσχροὺς τὴν ὄψιν 5 4  
 αἰτεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα παρὰ τινος  
 πρὸς γάμον 24 3; σὲ θερά-  
 πειναν αἰτῶ 30 1; αἰ. γῆν καὶ  
 ὕδωρ 6 1.—MED. 5 4, 29 2 3,  
 31 1.—PASS. αἰτηθεὶς πῶλον  
 5 1  
 αἶτημα 29 4  
 αἰτησις γῆς καὶ ὕδατος 6 2  
 αἰτίαν ἔχειν w. inf. 21 4; αἰτίαν  
 ἐπιφέρειν τινι 31 1  
 αἰτιώτατος 7 2, 10 3  
 αἰχμαλωσία<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἀναθήματος 31 1  
 ἀκαμπτος<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τι 10 5  
 ἀκμάζειν 24 2; ἡκμαζε πόλεμος  
 4 1  
 ἀκούειν, 'to be told in reply'  
 21 1  
 ἀκρίβεια, ἡ, τοῦ πολιτεύματος 4 4

ἀκροῦσθαι 27 2  
 ἀκρωτήριον 32 3  
 ἀλαζόνεια 5 3  
 ἀλειπτῆς, 'a teacher' 1 3, 3 4  
 ἀλείφειν ἑαυτὸν 3 4. — PASS.  
 ἀλείφειν, 'to train' 1 2  
 ἀλιτενής 14 2  
 ἀλκή<sup>3</sup> 4 3, 7 3  
 ἄλλος: τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ 4 4  
 ἀλώπτεκες 21 4  
 ἄμα w. participle 17 2; ἄμα  
 ἡμέρα 13 1, 29 1; ἄμα μὲν  
 ... ἄμα δὲ 13 2, 19 1  
 ἀμαυρός: ἀμαυρότερα 1 1  
 ἀμύχανον δεῖμα 26 2  
 ἄμιλλα τῶν νεῶν 32 3  
 ἀμπεχόνη, *amictus* 29 4  
 ἀμύνεσθαι, 'to retaliate' 2 3  
 Ἀμφικτυονία, ἡ 20 2  
 ἄν w. infinitive 23 3; w. indic.  
 imperf. 29 4.—ἄν=ἐάν 16 1  
 ἄν' Ἑλλαντας 21 4  
 ἀναβαλέσθαι τὰς ἐχθρας 6 2  
 ἀνάγειν, *captivum ducere* 23 3;  
 ἀνάγειν (*reducere*) τινὰ ἐπὶ  
 τὸν λόγον 11 3.—ἀνάγεσθαι  
 (MED.) 'to put to sea': ἀναχ-  
 θέντας 12 2  
 ἀναγράφειν<sup>3</sup> 1 2  
 ἀναδεικνύειν: <sup>35</sup> ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυ-  
 τὸν τῷ ναυκλήρῳ 25 1  
 ἀναδιδόναι δσμῆν, κόνιν 8 2 3  
 ἀνάθημα 31 1  
 ἀναιρεῖν (*tollere de medio*) γέ-  
 φυραν 16 2; ἀνελεῖν διορισμόν  
 1 3.—MED. ἀνελέσθαι αὐτῷ  
 ψέλια 18 1  
 ἀνακαλεῖν 10 2  
 ἀνακεράννυσθαι (PASS.) 29 4  
 ἀνακομίζεσθαι (MED.) 9 1  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν (*quies in navem*)  
 25 2  
 ἀναλάμπειν 13 2  
 ἀναντήρηνος<sup>1</sup> ἱκεσία 24 2  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι (MED.) 30 2  
 ἀναπέμπεσθαι (PASS.) 28 2

ἀναπετάννυσθαι (PASS.): ἀνα-  
 πεπταμένος ('open') εἰς βορέαν  
 8 2.—MET. ἀναπεπταμένη  
 βλασφημία 21 4  
 ἀναπλεῖν 16 2, 31 3  
 ἀναστέλλειν<sup>2</sup> τὴν αὐλαίαν 30 2  
 ἀνατιθέναι 5 3, 15 2, 31 1  
 ἀνατρέπειν τὰ πράγματα 11 1  
 ἀναφέρειν 14 3.—PASS. *sursum*  
*ferri* 15 1 (unclassical)  
 ἀναφωνεῖν<sup>1</sup> 26 1  
 ἀναχώρησιν ποιεῖσθαι 16 3  
 ἀναψύχειν, *siccare* 30 2  
 ἀνδρία 7 2, 15 2  
 ἀνεσις: PL. ἀνέσεις 2 1  
 ἀνευ λόγου 2 5  
 ἀνευρίσκου 10 4, 16 2.—PASS.  
 ἀνευρεθείσαι 23 3  
 ἀνέψιος 29 3  
 ἀνῆρ, ὁ, for demonstr. pronoun  
 12 3, 24 3, 31 4; ἀνδρες=  
 τινές 23 3  
 ἀνθρωπος, ὁ, in repetitione sub-  
 jecti 5 1, 12 3, 16 2  
 ἀνιᾶν 22 1  
 ἀνιστάναι, *iacentem erigere*, in-  
 slaurate 4 4.—MED. ἀνεστῶ-  
 σας ταῖς πρύμναις ναῦς 14 2  
 ἀνοικοδομεῖν 19 1  
 ἀνομοιότης τῶν τρόπων 3 2  
 ἀνταῖρειν 8 2  
 ἀντεπιχειρεῖν 31 3  
 ἀντέχειν, 'to hold out' 15 2  
 ἀντίπαλος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ 20 2  
 ἀντιπαράβάλλειν 18 3  
 ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τι 19 2  
 ἀντίπρῳρος 14 2 3  
 ἀντιστρατηγεῖν<sup>1</sup> 2 3  
 ἄνω, 'inland' 26 1, 30 1, 31 2  
 ἄνω καθῆσθαι 18 1  
 ἀνωθεν 9 2, 12 1  
 ἀνώμαλος 2 5  
 ἄξια: παρ' ἄξιαν 5 3  
 ἀξιδμαχος w. dat. 4 3 5  
 ἀξιος: ἀ. οὐδενός 32 1; ἀξίον  
 (ἔστι), *aeguium est*, w. inf. 32 2

οὐκ ἀξιοῦν, *nolle* 7 2, 11 3  
 ἀξίωμα 11 2, 22 2  
 ἀνάγχεσθαι (MED.) 22 1  
 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι (PASS.) 16 2,  
 20 1; ἀπαλλαγέντα δειμάτων  
 26 2  
 ἀπαντᾶν 7 1, 9 2  
 ἀπάραι (ἀπαλεῖν), 'to put off  
 from land' 24 3. Cp. Thuc.  
 VII 17, 4  
 ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν 29 4  
 ἀπαρχαί 10 1  
 ἀπείπασθαι<sup>1</sup> τι 23 2  
 ἀπείργεσθαι (PASS.) w. gen. 20 2  
 ἀπεργάζεσθαι, w. pred. and obj.  
 acc. *reddere* 2 3  
 ἀπέχειν<sup>2</sup> τὸν καρπὸν 17 2  
 ἀπέχθειαι 3 1  
 ἀπήνη<sup>13</sup> 26 3  
 ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν 26 1; ἀπὸ  
 τῶν χρημάτων ποιεῖσθαι (vide  
 s.v. ἐκ) 4 1; ἢ ἀπὸ τινος βοή-  
 θεια 12 1; τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀλκῇ 4 3; ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν  
 5 4; ἀπὸ τύχης 9 1; ἀπὸ  
 τινος γίνεσθαι 2 1, 19 1; ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ βελτίστου 3 2; ἀπ' οἰκίας  
 μεγάλης 5 3; ἀπ' εὐνοίας  
 12 2; οἱ ἀπὸ γένους 32 4  
 ἀποβάλλειν 11 4  
 ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν  
 19 3  
 ἀπογράφεσθαι, 'to register,'  
 'make notes of' 13 1  
 ἀποδείξει, 'to appoint' 30 2  
 ἀποδιδόναι 17 1.—MED. *vendere*  
 23 3  
 ἀποδιδράσκειν, *fugam meditari*  
 12 2  
 ἀποδέεσθαι metaph. 3 4  
 ἀποκήρυξις<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς 2 6  
 ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τί τινα 23 2  
 ἀποκτείνειν (de auctore caedis)  
 6 2  
 ἀπολαμβάνειν (de re sive debita  
 sive convenienti) 29 1

ἀπολαύειν τινος 18 3  
 ἀπολείπειν 11 4, 32 1.—PASS.  
 'to lag behind' 11 2  
 ἀπολις ἀνὴρ 11 3  
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι τινι 23 3  
 ἀπομνημονεύμενα, τὰ 18 1  
 ἀποπειράσθαι τινος 16 1  
 ἀποπλεῖν 7 4  
 ἐποπλήρωσις<sup>1</sup> ὁργῆς 28 2  
 ἀποπνεῖν<sup>23</sup> τὴν δυσμένειαν 22 2  
 Ἀπορία 21 1  
 ἀποροὶ ἐλπίδες 24 2  
 ἀπόρητον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 20 1; i. q. ἀρητον, *tacendum*,  
 'not to be divulged'  
 ἀποσκευαί, *impedimenta* 10 4  
 ἀποσπᾶσαι τῆς θαλάσσης 19 2  
 ἀποστέλλειν 31 1.—PASS. 19 1  
 ἀποστρέφειν πρὸς 19 3  
 ἀπότευξις<sup>1</sup> 16 1  
 ἀποτολμᾶν 29 2  
 ἀποτρέπειν w. gen. of articular  
 inf. 2 6  
 ἀποτριβεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> *repudivare* 24 3;  
 τὴν δέησιν 23 2  
 ἀποφαίνειν ἑαυτὸν πρῶτον 17 1  
 ἀποφθέγματα 19 1  
 ἀποχρῆσθαι 4 2, 28 2  
 ἀποχρῶντως, *sufficienter* 29 2  
 ἀπρακτος 7 1  
 ἀπροθύμως 2 2  
 ἀπρόσμαχος<sup>13</sup> 7 2  
 ἀπτεσθαι 26 2; τῶν χρόνων  
 2 3; τῆς πολιτείας 3 1, 25 2;  
 ἀπτεταί τινος τὰ πολιτικά  
 πράγματα 3 1; ἀπτεσθαι (γῆς),  
 'to reach (shore)' 7 3  
 ἀπρωθεῖσθαι (MED.) 29 4  
 ἀρα, *nimium* 4 3.—ἀρα 21 4  
 ἀργυρεία μέταλλα 4 1  
 ἀργυρίοις κυβαλικοῖς 21 3  
 ἀργυρώντος 26 3  
 ἀρέσκων τοῖς πολλοῖς 5 4  
 ἀρετῇ 9 1, 28 2  
 ἀριστεῖον ἀνδρίας, σοφίας 17 2  
 ἀριστεύειν<sup>3</sup> 17 1

ἀριστοι, οἱ 19 3, 31 2  
 ἀρμάμαξα 26 3  
 ἀρμύττεσθαι τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν 19 2; ἀρμύσασθαι  
 λύραν 2 3  
 ἀρνεῖσθαι 19 1  
 ἀρπάσαι 7 4  
 ἀρτοι 7 4  
 ἀρχεῖν, 'to be archon' 5 3  
 ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν 3 2; εὐθὺς ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς 3 1; ἀρχὴν μειζόνων  
 ἀγώνων 3 3  
 ἀρχων 5 4  
 ἀσέλγστερος 21 4  
 ἀσκεῖν τὴν πόλιν 3 4  
 ἀσκησις 2 4  
 ἄσμα 21 2 4  
 ἀσάθμυτος 2 5  
 ἀστεῖος, *urbanius* 2 3; as a  
 general word of praise, ἀ.  
 ἀρχων 5 4  
 ἀσύμμετρος πρὸς ἰσότητα δημο-  
 κρατικὴν 22 2  
 ἀσφάλεια 3 2  
 ἀσφαλὲς κριτῆς 5 4; ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
 γεγεννημένης 28 1  
 ἀσχολία: ἀσχολιῶν μεστός 18 3;  
 ἀ. περὶ τι 31 2  
 ἄτε w. participle 2 5  
 ἀτιμία 2 6, 22 2  
 ἀτιμος: ἐγγράφειν εἰς τοὺς ἀ.  
 6 2  
 ἀτοπα πράγματα 23 2  
 ἀτρέμα, *leniter* 27 1, 29 1  
 αὐλαία 30 2  
 αὐλή 29 2  
 αὐξάνειν: αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν  
 3 2; τὴν βασιλείᾳ φήμην  
 αὐξήσων 27 2; τὸν δῆμον  
 ἡξήσε 19 3. — PASS. αὐξό-  
 μενος 5 4; αὐξανόμενος 31 3  
 αὐξήσις, 'aggrandisement' 3 2  
 αὐτόθι for αὐτοῦ 7 1, 8 2  
 αὐτόμολος τρεῖς 12 3  
 αὐτός, ἵππε: ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα  
 8 1; αὐτὸ τὸ δεινόν 27 1

ἀφανὲς γενέσθαι 10 1; )( ἐπι-  
 φανὲς 5 2; ἀφανὲς οὐσία 25 2  
 ἀφθονος χορηγία 5 1  
 ἀφορμὰς παρέχειν τι κατὰ τινας  
 28 1  
 ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὴν ἀνάγκην 24 3  
 ἀχάριστος 23 2  
 ἀχρηστος 2 6  
 ἀχρι θαλάττης 15 1; ἀχρι τῶν  
 ὄρων 17 2; ἀχρι νῦν 10 5  
 ἀψυστος 10 1  
 ἀψυχὰ, τὰ 11 3

## B

βακτηρία 11 3  
 βάλλεσθαι (MED.): ἐβάλλοντο  
 κρητῖδ' ἐλεγεθερίας 8 2  
 βαρβαρικὸς 7 3, 14 1 2, 26 2; τὸ  
 βαρβαρικόν 9 1; τοῦ β. γένους  
 26 2  
 βάρβαρος, ὁ 31 2; 'the Persian  
 king' 7 1, 11 1, 16 1; βάρ-  
 βαροι, οἱ, 'the Persians' 3 3,  
 8 1, 23 3, 31 2; βάρβαροι  
 παιᾶνες 8 1; βάρβαρα προσ-  
 τάγματα 6 2  
 βαρέως φέρειν 7 4  
 βαρὺς 14 2; 'oppressive' 22 2  
 βασιλεὺς, 'the king of Persia,'  
 without the article 7 1 3,  
 12 2, 27 1, 28 1, 29 1, 31 1 2;  
 with the article 23 2, 26 1;  
 28 1, 29 2 3 4  
 βέβαιον δέος 4 2  
 βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις 31 3  
 βῆμα, τό 19 3  
 βία 21 1  
 βιοῦν: βεβιωκώς 31 4  
 βλάπτειν 4 4, 14 2  
 βλασφημία χρῆσθαι 21 3  
 βρόχος 22 1  
 βωμοειδές, τὸ 32 3  
 βωμός: ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψή-  
 φον ἔφερον 17 1

## Γ

ΓΑ for γε 21 2  
 γαμετή<sup>3</sup> 26 3  
 γάρ, explanatory 11 2  
 γελοῖος 21 3  
 γενεαί,<sup>2</sup> *liberi* 10 3 5; ΓΕΝΕΑΪC  
 8 3  
 γένεσις, *origo* 19 3  
 γένος 1 3, 3 2, 6 2, 12 2; οἱ ἀπὸ  
 γένους 32 4; τὰ ἐκ γένους 1 1  
 γέφυραν ἀναίρειν, λύειν 16 2  
 γεωργοῦντες, οἱ 19 3  
 γίγνεσθαι, *se praestare* 7 2; ἀπὸ  
 τινος 2 1, 19 1; γενόμενος  
 παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεῶν 27 1;  
 γενέσθαι ἐν, 'to arrive at'  
 30 1; εἰ γεγονότων 1 2  
 γλαυξ 12 1  
 γλισχρότης<sup>1</sup> 5 1  
 γλυκυθυμία<sup>1</sup> 10 5  
 γλώττα, ἡ Περσὶς 29 2  
 γνήσιος )( νόθος 1 2 3  
 γνώμη, *prudentia* 15 2; *senten-*  
*tia* 27 3; γνώμην ποιέσθαι,  
*propositum habere* 16 1  
 γνωρίζειν, *agnoscere* 14 3  
 γνώριμος 5 3, 26 1  
 Γοργόνειον, τό 10 4  
 γραμματα, 'an inscription' 9 1;  
 γ. ἱστορικά 13 2; *epistula* 23 2  
 γραμματεῖς *regis Persarum* 13 1  
 γράφειν ψήφισμα 10 2, 11 1.—  
 MED. *publice accusare* 23 1  
 γραφή, *pictura*: γραφαῖς ἐκόσ-  
 μησεν 1 3  
 γυμνάσιον 1 2  
 γυναικωνίτις, ἡ 31 2  
 γύναιον 26 3  
 γυνή: ΘΡΗΪCCA ΓΥΝΗ 1 1

## Δ

δαίμων ὁ βασιλέως 29 1  
 δάκνεσθαι (PASS.): δηχθεῖς 32 1  
 ΔΑΜΑΪCΑΝΤΕC 8 3

δαπάνη: ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους  
 δαπάναις 5 1  
 δαφνηφόρος, epithet of Apollo  
 15 1  
 δέ in apodosis 21 2; δ' οὖν re-  
 sumptive 26 2, 27 1, 28 1  
 δέησις 23 2  
 δεῖ μοι τινος 29 2  
 δέικνυσθαι (PASS.) 8 3, 10 5  
 δεῶν ἐλ 20 2  
 δεῶνός εἰπεῖν 6 1  
 δεῶνότης 15 2; δ. πολιτική 2 4  
 δειπνον ἀρτων 7 4; δειπνα 5 2  
 δεξιός: ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς 12 1; ἐκ  
 δεξιῶν 13 2  
 δεξιόσθαι 13 2, 31 4  
 δέος παρέχειν 4 2  
 δέχεσθαι, *amplecti* 12 2  
 δὴ w. rel. pronoun 8 2, 23 2;  
 w. adverbs 7 2, 10 1, 12 1  
 δῆλος ἦν τιμωρησόμενος 24 2;  
 δῆλος ἐστὶ 1 3  
 δηλοῦσθαι 10 2  
 δημαγωγεῖν 10 2  
 δημαγωγός 2 6  
 δημηγορεῖν 20 1  
 δῆμοι, οἱ, *carnifex* 22 1  
 δημοκρατία 19 3  
 δημόσιος: δημοσίᾳ, *publico*  
*sumptu* 10 3; τὸ δ., *aerarium*  
 25.2; τὰ δ. 3 2; δ. χρήματα  
 10 3  
 διὰ: with gen. δ. χωμάτων 16 1;  
 δ. μέσον 18 1; δ. τάχους 16,2;  
 δι' ὁργῆς ἔχειν τινὰ 24 2; per,  
 δ. ψήφισματος 6 2, 9 1, 11 3,  
 18 1, 23 3, 25 2, 27 3.—with  
 acc. *propter* 1 2, 3 1, 6 2, 9  
 1, 10 5, 11 1, 12 3, 18 1 2, 21  
 2, 22 1, 24 3  
 διαβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τινα 23 3  
 διαβεβαιόσθαι<sup>1</sup> 14 1  
 διαβοᾶσθαι (PASS.), *celebrari* 3 3  
 διαβολὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχεν  
 4 3; διαβολὰς προσέσθαι 22 1  
 διάβροχος 30 2



διδόναι 31 2  
 διαγωνίζεσθαι, *decertare* 8 I, 16 3  
 διαδιδόναι λόγον 19 2  
 διαδοχή: ἐκ διαδοχῆς 2 4  
 διαζῶσαι (διαζωννύναι<sup>1</sup>) 12 2  
 δαιτᾶσθαι 26 3  
 διακέσθαι χαλεπῶς 29 I  
 διακελεύεσθαι (MED.) 12 2  
 διακοῦσαι w. gen. 2 3, 29 3  
 διαλλάσσειν 6 2, 29 4  
 διαλλέσθαι (PASS.) κατὰ πόλεις 12 I  
 διαμένειν 4 5  
 διαμιλλᾶσθαι τινι περὶ τι 5 2  
 διανέμεσθαι 4 I  
 διανοεῖσθαι 9 3, 20 I  
 διανομή 4 I  
 διαπέμπεσθαι<sup>1</sup> (PASS.) 31 3  
 διαπερᾶν<sup>3</sup> 10 5, 24 I  
 διαπέτεσθαι w. gen. 12 I  
 διαπράττεσθαι (MED.) w. inf. 21 2; διαπεπράχθαι τι χρήσιμον 18 3  
 διαπρεπῶς 13 2  
 διαρπᾶσαι 25 I  
 διαρρίπτειν<sup>1</sup> 32 2  
 διασφῆζειν 2 4  
 διαταράσσεσθαι, *perturbari* 30 I  
 διατερίζειν 9 2  
 διατελεῖν w. participle 3 2, 31 4  
 διατιθέναι, *componere* 24 3  
 διατριβεῖν, *commorari* 23 I, 26 I  
 διατριβή, *mora* 19 I; διατριβὰς ἐμποιεῖν 16 3.—ἀστέϊα διατριβαί 2 3; αἱ οἰκοὶ διατριβαί 29 3  
 διαφέρεσθαι<sup>2</sup> (PASS.), *iactari*, *huc illuc ferri* 14 3  
 διαφεύγειν τὸν κίνδυνον 30 2  
 διαφθείρειν 12 2, 29 2.—PASS. 6 I  
 διαφορὰν ἔχειν πρὸς τινα 24 I  
 διαχειμᾶζειν 20 I  
 διγλωττος,<sup>2</sup> ὁ, *interpret qui duas linguas callet* 6 I  
 διδάσκειν *fabulam* 5 3

διδόναι λέγειν 29 I  
 διελέχθαι (διαλέγεσθαι) 29 2  
 διείργεσθαι (PASS.) w. gen. 13 I  
 διερευνᾶσθαι (MED.), 'to ransack' 10 4  
 διηγῆματα<sup>1</sup> πλάττειν 2 6  
 δικανικὰ τέχναι 2 4  
 δίκας ταραττειν 5 I  
 διδὼ καὶ 7 2, 10 2, 12 I, 19 3, 20 2  
 διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν 1 3  
 διπῆχυς 31 I  
 δίφρος χρυσοῦς 13 I  
 διώξις 28 I  
 δοκεῖν, *videri*, de *somniorum visis* 15 I, 26 2; 'to be thought' 2 6, 5 3, 7 I, 8 3, 10 I; τὸ δοκοῦν, *sententia* 20 2; *sibi videri* 2 3, 18 3  
 δοκιμάζειν, 'to approve' 20 I  
 δόξα 31 4; δόξαν ἔχειν 18 2; δόξαν παρέχειν w. inf. 29 2; πρὸς δόξαν 1 I, 3 2  
 δουλοῦσθαι, *subicere sibi* 4 5  
 δούρειος Ίππος 5 I  
 δράκων Athenis 10 I  
 δραστήριος σύνεσις 2 4  
 δύναμαι: πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι 18 4  
 δύναμις, *coriae*: | ναυτική δ. 12 2, 20 I.—PL. τηλικούτων δ. 16 I; δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο 31 3  
 δυνατός: ὡς δυνατόν 10 2; τοῖς ἀνὼ δ. 26 I, 29 2  
 δυσθυμία<sup>3</sup> 9 2  
 δυσμένειαν ἀποπνεῖν εἰς τι 22 2  
 δυσχεραίνειν (absol.) 16 I, 22 I; w. dat. 19 3

## E

ἐᾶν, *sinere*, *intactum relinquere* 4 I; οὐκ ἐᾶν, *vetare* 3 4  
 ἔβα εἰς ὄλεθρον 21 3  
 ἐγγράφειν εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους 6 2  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 19 I; ἐγ. τινι 19 3

- ἐγκαταλείπειν<sup>2</sup> 11 3  
 ἐγκέφαλος, ὁ 29 3  
 ἐγκλημα συγγενικόν 5 I  
 ἐγχαράττειν<sup>1</sup> γράμματα κατὰ τῶν λίθων 9 I  
 ἐδώδιμα, τὰ 5 I  
 ἔθος ἔχειν w. inf. 4 I  
 ἔθω: εἰώθει 2 2; εἰωθῖα ὥρα 14 2  
 εἰ after verbs of indignation 12 I, 20 2  
 εἰ δέι τεκμαίρεσθαι 17 2  
 εἶδος, ἵματιο: τὰ εἶδη 29 2  
 εἰκασία<sup>2</sup> 29 2  
 εἰκόνιον,<sup>1</sup> 'a statuette' 22 2  
 εἰκός: οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι 25 I  
 εἰκῶν 5 4; εἰ. θεοῦ 27 2  
 εἶναι (λέγεσθαι) 28 2  
 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι 21 I; 'to move a resolution' 6 2.—PASS. εἰρητο, *praecceptum erat* 23 3  
 εἰς w. superlatives 21 2  
 εἰς ὀλεθρον 21 3; εἰς χεῖρας ἵναι, *manus conserere* 8 I.—*in*, 'on', 'concerning' 21 4; 'in respect to' 2 2, 8 I, 26 2.—Of time: εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ 7 2  
 εἰσάγειν 29 I.—PASS. εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα 28 I  
 εἰσασθαι<sup>2</sup> 22 I  
 εἰσελαύνειν 29 3  
 εἰσηγεῖσθαι ὅπως, *auctorem esse ut* 20 2 (unclassical)  
 εἰσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 3, 9 I  
 ἐκ: εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς 3 I; ἐκ θυσίας 26 I; ἐκ τούτου, *post hoc* 3 2, 4 3, 19 2; *propter hoc* 20 2; ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, 'with the money' 4 I; ἐκ τῆς ζημίας 31 I; ἐκ διαδοχῆς 2 4; ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐπαίρεσθαι 5 3; ἐξ ὧν = ἐκ τούτων ὅτι 29 I.—Proleptic use of: τὸν ἐκ Μῆδων χρυσὸν ἐκόμισε 6 2  
 ἐκβοῆσαι 28 3  
 ἐκδιδόναι 24 3  
 ἐκδιώκων 21 3  
 ἐκκλέπτειν, *clapi subducere* 24 3  
 ἐκλάμψαι<sup>3</sup> 15 I  
 ἐκλιπαρεῖν<sup>1</sup> w. inf. 5 2  
 ἐκμανθάνειν 2 2, 29 2  
 ἐκούσιος θάνατος 2 6  
 ἐκπαλαι<sup>1</sup> 30 I  
 ἐκπεταννύναι<sup>3</sup> τὰς αὐλαίας 30 2  
 ἐκπίπτειν, 'to be washed ashore' 10 5, 18 I; ἐκπίπτειν (εἰς) τῆς πόλεως 23 I; ἐκπετωκότα τῆς πολιτείας 23 2  
 ἐκπλήττεσθαι: ἐκπλαγῆναι τι 7 3, 13 2; ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν κίνδυνον 6 I  
 ἐκρεῖν w. gen.: ἐξερρήσαν<sup>2</sup> οἱ λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων 12 I  
 ἐκσπονδος, *exclusus a foedere* 20 2  
 ἐκτείνειν λόγον 12 2.—PASS. ἐκτενεσθαι<sup>3</sup> (συστέλλεσθαι) 29 2  
 ἐκτός, οἱ 26 3, 29 2  
 ἐκφέρειν, *efferre* 22 I; ἐ. τι πρὸς τινα, *vulgate* 23 2; ('to promulgate') τέλος 12 2  
 ἐκφρων 26 I  
 ἐλεγείον 8 3  
 ἐλεον ἔχειν 10 5  
 ἐλευθέριος 2 2; ἐ. διατριβαί 2 3  
 ἐλευθεριότης 5 I  
 ἔλευσινώθεν 15 I  
 ἔλληγ as adj. 29 I 4  
 ἔλληνις φωνή 6 2  
 ἐμβαίνειν, 'to embark' 10 2 5  
 ἐμβάλλειν εἰς, *invadere* 9 2.—ἐ. τινα εἰς ὑποψίαν 23 3; ἐμβάλλειν χρόνον τινί 19 I  
 ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τρήρεις 7 I  
 ἐμπιπλάναι τινα θράσους 19 3  
 ἐμπιπράναι: ἐμπρήσαι 20 I.—PASS. ἐμπρησθέν 1 3  
 ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν 30 2; <sup>2</sup>εἰς τινα, 'to devolve upon' 6 I

ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τινί τιнос 4 5 ; ἐ.  
τοῖς λόγοις 27 2  
ἐμποεῖν διατριβάς τινι 16 3  
ἐμπορος : τοῖς ἐμπόροις 32  
3  
ἐμφράττειν 16 1  
ἐμφῦναι<sup>2</sup> ταῖς ναυσίν 9 3  
ἐν Νικογένους, 'in the house  
of' 28 2 ; ἐν τούτῳ, *interea*  
12 2, 15 1 ; ἐν ᾧ, *dum* 12 2 ;  
ἐν τούτῳ, 'at this moment'  
30 2 ; ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος  
δντος 15 1 ; ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, *co-  
raim populo* 22 1 ; ἐν τοῖς  
Ἑλλήσι 23 3, 29 1.—ἐν μέτρῳ  
26 1  
ἐναλέσθαι 10 5  
ἐνάλιον<sup>13</sup> ἔργον 15 2  
ἐναντίος : τὴν ἐναντίαν 3 1 ;  
τοῦναντίον 2 6, 5 1  
ἐναρμόττειν<sup>2</sup> (*placere*) τινι 5 4  
ἐνδείξασθαι, *declarare re* 31 1  
ἐνδοξος) (ἀδοξος) 2 3, 18 2  
ἐνέχεσθαι (PASS.) *teneri* : αἱ νῆες  
τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν  
14 3 ; ἐνέχετο νοθεία 1 2  
ἐνθα δὴ 10 1, 12 1  
ἐνίστασθαι (MED.), *obsistere* 7 1 ;  
τινὶ πρὸς τι, *resistere alicui ne  
quid habeat* 3 2  
ἐννοια 11 4  
ἐνοπλος<sup>3</sup> 15 1  
ἐντευξίς, *aditus* 27 1 3  
ἐντί *doric* pro εἰσι 21 4  
ἐντός, abs. 32 3 ; w. gen. 9 2  
ἐντροφᾶν<sup>1</sup> τῇ μητρὶ (of a spoiled  
child) 18 4  
ἐντυγχάνειν, 'to have an inter-  
view with' 27 1, 29 1 2 ; ἐν-  
τυχεῖν τινὶ περὶ τιнос 27 1 ;  
τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι 26 3  
ἐξαγγέλλειν 10 1, 12 2  
ἐξάγειν στρατὶν 7 1 ; τὸν μυστι-  
κὸν ἐ. Ἱακχον 15 1  
ἐξάγειν<sup>35</sup> 26 2  
ἐξάπτειν τί τιнос 19 3.—MED.

ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν 31  
3  
ἐξαρτᾶν<sup>3</sup> τί τιнос 2 6  
ἐξεργύσαν<sup>2</sup> : v.s. ἐκρεῖν  
ἐξῆς 17 2  
ἐξισοῦσθαι (PASS.) τὸ πλῆθος 15 2  
ἐξιστάναι : ἐκστῆναι τῆς στρα-  
τηγίας 6 1 ; ἐξιστασθαι πρὸς  
τὸ χεῖρον, 'to degenerate' 2 5  
ἐξοστρακίζεσθαι (PASS.) : ἐξωσ-  
τράκιστο 11 1 ; ἐξωστρακισ-  
μένος 12 3 ; ἐξοστρακισθέντα  
5 4  
ἐξοστρακισμὸν<sup>1</sup> ποιέσθαι κατὰ  
τινος 22 2  
ἐξω w. gen. for ἐκτός 1 2  
ἐξωνεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτι-  
μίαν παρὰ τινος 6 1  
ἐοικα, *similis sum* 27 3, 29 2 ;  
ἐοικυῖα 29 3 ; ἐοικε, *fertur* 3  
2 ; ὥς ἐοικός 21 4  
ἐορτῇ 18 3  
ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, *polliceri* 29 4  
ἐπάγειν μηχανῇ 10 1 ; τὸ πεῖδν  
τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν 15 1  
ἐπαίρεσθαι (MED.) τὴν βακτηρίαν  
11 3.—PASS. ἐπαυρόμενος τὴν  
κίταριν 29 3 ; ἐπαίρεσθαι παρ'  
ἀξίαν 5 3 ; ἐπαρθεῖς τιμῇ 31 3  
ἐπακτὸς στρατός 16 1  
ἐπ-ανα-βάλλεσθαι<sup>5</sup> 18 1  
ἐπ-αν-ορθοῦσθαι (MED.) τὰ παρ-  
ειμένα 16 2  
ἐπαχθῆς τινι 21 1  
ἐπεῖ, *nam* 2 2  
ἐπσθαι 18 1 ; i.q. πείθεσθαι 7 2  
ἐπέχειν τὰς χεῖρας 15 1  
ἐπὶ τιнос w. Gen. 'in the case  
of,' 'concerning' 8 2, 22 2 ;  
'in the time of' 29 4 ; ἐφ'  
ἡσυχίας 16 2.—with Dat.  
'because of' 2 6, 7 4, 24 3,  
28 3 ; ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν 21  
4 ; ἐπὶ ('after') πᾶσι τετάχθαι  
9 1 ; 'at the mercy of' 20 2 ;  
'on condition of' ἐ. χρήμασιν

21 2; ἐ. χρόνῳ 11 1.—with  
 Acc. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω 2 5; ἐ.  
 πολλά κινεῖν τινα 3 2; 'for  
 the purpose of' ἐπ' ἀγῶνας  
 ἡλiefεν αὐτόν 3 3, 4 1 2.—  
 temporal ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον  
 31 2  
 ἐπιγαμείσθαι<sup>1</sup> (PASS.) 32 1  
 ἐπιγράφειν (MED.) ὄνομα 19 1  
 ἐπιγραφή 5 3  
 ἐπιδεικνύειν, *digito monstrare*  
 2 6, 17 2, 29 2.—MED. 23 2  
 ἐπιδείκxις ἀρετῆς 28 2  
 ἐπίδοξος, 'expected' not 'ex-  
 pecting' 6 1  
 ἐπιεικής 18 4; ἐπιεικῶς 29 2  
 ἐπιέναι, *obire* 12 3  
 ἐπιθειάζειν<sup>2</sup> 28 2  
 ἐπικαθίζειν (intrans.) 12 1  
 ἐπικαλύπτειν 29 3  
 ἐπικηρύττεσθαι (PASS.) τινὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ  
 τινι 26 1; τὸ ἐπικηρυχθέν 29 1  
 ἐπικλῶν<sup>1</sup> 10 5  
 ἐπικλησις 8 2  
 ἐπικρατεῖν τῶν ψήφων 20 2  
 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, *oblivisci* 24 3  
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι 7 4  
 ἐπιπίπτειν τινι 30 2  
 ἐπιπλεῖν εἰς 16 1  
 ἐπισείειν<sup>13</sup> 4 2  
 ἐπίσημον, *insigne* 8 1  
 ἐπισκευάζειν 1 3  
 ἐπισκήπτειν 9 1  
 ἐπισκοπεῖν 4 4, 18 1  
 ἐπισκῶπτειν 5 4  
 ἐπιστάτης τῶν ὑδάτων 31 1  
 ἐπιστολή 31 2.—PL. 23 3  
 ἐπιστρέφειν<sup>2</sup> τὸν λόγον 11 3;  
 ἐπιστρέφειν τινα w. inf. 31 3  
 ἐπιτάττειν 18 4  
 ἐπιτήδες 19 1  
 ἐπιτήδεύμα τι ποιεῖσθαι 2 4  
 ἐπιτιθέναι: ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ  
 τελευτῇ 31 4.—MED. *aggre-  
 di* 12 2  
 ἐπιτρέπew, *instigare* 31 3

ἐπιφάνεια<sup>1</sup> τῆς θεοῦ 30 2  
 ἐπιφανείς, *ol, illustri loco nati*;  
 de re: ἐ. γράμματα 9 1  
 ἐπιφέρειν, *inferre*: ἐπ. καινοτο-  
 μίας 3 2; ἐ. αἰτίαν τινι 31 1.  
 —MED. *adoriri, invadere* 14 2  
 ἐποπτεύειν<sup>3</sup> τὸν στόλον 13 1  
 ἐπώνυμος, *qui dat nomen* 10 2  
 ἐρασθαί (DEF.): ἡράσθησαν 3 2  
 ἐραστῆς πράξεων μεγάλων 3 3  
 ἔργον, *munus* 13 1  
 ἐρίξειν τινὶ 18 3; περὶ τιος 14  
 2, 19 2  
 ἐρμηνεύς 6 2, 28 1  
 ἐσθῆτι (ἐσθής, *vestis*) 13 2  
 ἔστι, *licet* 27 2  
 ἔτι, *praeterea* 6 2, 10 3, 20 2,  
 27 1, 29 1; *adhuc* 2 1, 3 3 4,  
 5 2, 12 3, 22 2, 31 4, 32 1; w.  
 comp. ἔτι μᾶλλον 7 4  
 εὖ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τιος 22 1; εὖ  
 γεγονέναι 1 2  
 εὐγνωμοσύνη<sup>2</sup> 7 2  
 εὐδία 18 2  
 εὐεργεσία ἐστὶ τινι πρὸς τινα 24 1  
 εὐημερεῖν<sup>1</sup> 31 4  
 εὐκαίρως 4 2  
 εὐλογος )( παράλογος 13 2  
 εὐμεγέθης 32 3  
 εὐμενῶς διαλλάττεσθαι 28 1  
 εὐνοῦχος βασιλικός 16 2  
 εὐπορεῖν (*nancisci*) ἐφοδῶν 10 4  
 εὐρίσκειν with partic. 30 2.—  
 PASS. 2 1  
 εὐφυῖα<sup>1</sup> τῶν λιμένων 19 2  
 ἐφεξῆς 17 2  
 ἐφήμερον<sup>2</sup> φάρμακον 31 4  
 ἐφίσταται w. gen. 6 1; w. gen.  
 of art. inf. 3 1  
 ἐφικτός,<sup>1</sup> 'attainable' 31 3  
 ἐφόδια 10 4  
 ἐφοροι, *ol* 19 1  
 ἔχειν, *in matrimonio habere* 27  
 3.—ἐ. αἰτίαν 21 4; ἐσχῆκε  
 δόξαν 18 2; ἔθος 4 1; ἔλεον  
 105; πιστὴν 12 3; σπουδῆν

5 3; φθόνον 29 2; φιλοτιμίαν  
5 3; ὀργή ἐχει τινα 9 2; ἐν-  
νοια καὶ δέος ἔσχεν αὐτόν 11 4;  
ἔχων, 'with' 14 2.—*posse* 7  
4.—intrans. with modal ad-  
verb: ἔ. ὁμοίως πρὸς τινα 2 6;  
ἔ. ἀπαραιτήτως 29 4  
ἐχθραν λύειν 24 1; τὰς ἔ. ἀνα-  
βαλέσθαι 6 2; ἔ. πρὸς τινα 3 1

## Z

ζεῦγμα 16 1 2  
ζηλοτυπία<sup>1</sup> 26 2  
ζηλωτής, *imitator* 2 4  
ζήμια, *nulla* 31 1

## H

ἦ γάρ 11 4  
ἡγεμονία 6 1; ἦ. τῶν νεῶν 11 2.  
—*PL.* 31 4  
ἡγεμών: τοὺς ἦ. τῶν νεῶν 12 2  
ἡδεσθαι: ἡσθη 12 2, 17 2, 29 2  
ἡθοποιός<sup>1</sup> παιδευσις 2 2  
ἦ καὶ ῥῶν 4 2  
ἡλικία: οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 10 2; παρ'  
ἡλικίαν 2 2  
ἡμέρα μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4  
ἡμερος, *mansuetus* 10 5  
ἡρίον<sup>3</sup> 9 3  
ἡρωϊκός<sup>2</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν 22 2  
ἡσυχία: ἐφ' ἡσυχίας 16 2; καθ'  
ἡσυχίαν 12 2  
ἦττα 3 3, 4 5  
ἦττων χρημάτων 6 1; ἦττον 14  
2, 19 3  
ἩΥΧΟΝΤΟ 21 3  
ἩΨΑΡΕ 21 3  
ἦχος καὶ φωνή 15 1

## Θ

θαλάττιος, *nauticus* 4 3  
θαλαττοκρατεῖν 31 3  
θαλλός: θαλλοῦ στέφανον 17 2

θανατοῦν 24 3.—*PASS.* τῶν  
θανατουμένων 22 1; θανατω-  
θέντος 23 3  
θαρσεῖν *w. inf.* 23 2  
θανυμάζειν, *observare* 17 2, 27 2,  
θεός, ἦ 10 4, 21 2, 30 2  
θεοφόρητος<sup>3</sup> 26 1  
θεράπαινα 30 1  
θεραπεύειν 18 2; χρήμασιν 31 2.  
—*PASS.* θ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν 29 4

θήρα λυσιτελής 26 1  
θίς 8 3  
θνητός 1 2  
θράσος 19 3  
θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τινα 18 3  
Θρᾶττα 1 2  
Θρήϊσσα 1 1  
θυμομαχεῖν<sup>2</sup> 16 1  
θυμός: θυμῷ 12 3  
θύρα: οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις 26 3, 29 1  
θυσία 13 2

## I

Ἰακχος ὁ μυστικός 15 1  
ιδέσθαι<sup>13</sup> 13 2  
ἴδιος: τὰ *I.* 18 1.—*ιδιότροπος*,  
*peculiaris* 18 4, 24 2  
ιδιώτης )( σοφός 27 2  
ἰέρεια 30 2  
ἱερός: ἡ ἱερὰ ναὺς 7 4; ἱερᾶν  
ἈΘΑΝᾶΝ 21 2  
ἱεσία 24 2  
ἱκέτευμα 24 3  
ἱππεὺς ἀριστος 32 1  
ἱπποὶ ἀγωνισταί 25 1  
ἱπποτρόφος 5 1  
Ἰσθμοί 21 2 (*ex Timocreonte*)  
ἰσότης 27 2; *I.* δημοκρατική 22 2  
ἰστάναι (*λίθον*) 9 1; (*σκηνήν*) 25  
1; στήσαι βεβαίως 26 2  
ἰστορεῖν,<sup>2</sup> 'to record': ἰστορεῖ  
4 4, 19 1, 24 3, 25 1; ἰστο-  
ροῦσι 27 1; ἰστόρηκεν 1 3, 3  
2, 7 3.—*PASS.* 10 5  
ἰστορία<sup>2</sup> 32 2

ιστορικά<sup>2</sup> γράμματα 13 2  
 ισχυρῶς, vehementer 26 3  
 ἰταῶς 3 1

## K

καθαιρέσθαι, *suspensum demere*  
 22 1  
 καθάπερ 2 1, 11 4  
 καθάπτεσθαι τινος 21 2  
 καθαρός: τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύ-  
 ματος 4 4  
 καθήμενος 16 2; καθήστο 13 1  
 καθιερεύειν 13 2  
 καθίζειν: καθίσει 24 3  
 καθιστάναι τινὰ εἰς ἀναγκήν 16  
 1; τινὰ ἀντίπαλόν τινι 20 2.  
 —PASS. ἰκετὴς καταστάς 24 2;  
 εἰς κινδύνον κατέστησαν 16 3  
 καθορᾶν, *cernere* 15 1; τοὺς  
 κατοφρομένους 19 1  
 καί introducing a statement  
 emphatically 4 1; διὸ καί  
 7 2, 10 2; ἦ καί 4 2; καί con-  
 necting genus with species  
 7 2.—intensive, καὶ μάλιστα  
 12 1; καὶ γάρ, *etenim* 18 1  
 καλεῖν: καῦσαι 8 3  
 καινοτομεῖσθαι 29 2  
 καινοτομία ἐπιφέρειν 3 2  
 καίνων<sup>3</sup> 21 3  
 καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'and yet'  
 2 3, 3 1 3, 10 5  
 κακοῦν<sup>3</sup> τὸ βαρβαρικόν 9 1  
 κάλλος 3 2  
 καλοκαγαθία 12 3  
 καλοκαγαθικός<sup>1</sup> τὸν τρόπον 3 2  
 καλός: ἐν καλῷ, *loco optimo*  
 32 3  
 κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον 32 3  
 κἄν for καὶ ἐάν 20 1, 29 3  
 καρδία 11 4  
 ΚΑΡΙΝΗ, 'a Carian woman' 1 2  
 καρποῦσθαι δωρεάς 31 2; τιμάς  
 32 4  
 καρχήσιον<sup>23</sup> 12 1

κατὰ w. Gen. γράμματα κ. τῶν  
 λίθων 9 1; κ. τῆς γαστροῦς 26  
 1.—w. Acc. κ. θάλατταν 7 1,  
 9 2; *e regione*, 'opposite'  
 14 2, 32 3; κ. στόμα 7 3;  
 κ. τινὰ εἶναι 29 1.—distribu-  
 tive, κ. μέρος, 'in detach-  
 ments' 15 2, 18 1; κ. πόλεις  
 12 1; καθ' αὐτήν 2 5; κ.  
 μικρόν, 'little by little' 4 3,  
 15 1; καθ' ἑσυχίαν 12 2.—  
*de tempore*: καθ' ἡμῶς, *nostra*  
*aetate* 22 2  
 καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες  
 1 2; ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα 6 1;  
 κατέβαινον ἀγγελίαι 31 3  
 καταβάλλειν (*de solvenda pec-*  
*unia*) 24 1  
 καταβιάζειν 4 3  
 καταβοᾶν ('to denounce') τινός  
 23 3; τινὸς πρὸς τινα 7 5  
 κατάγειν, 'to bring from the  
 sea' 14 2; *exulere* 14 2, 17  
 2, 21 2  
 καταδίκη 21 4  
 καταδύναι 26 3  
 καταίρειν) (ἀπαίρειν 20 1  
 κατακαλεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup> (MED.) 13 2  
 κατακλείειν 16 1.—PASS. κατα-  
 κλειμέναι 26 3  
 κατακοιμηθεῖς 26 2  
 καταλείπειν 11 3  
 καταλύσαι τοὺς Ἑ. πολέμους 6 2  
 καταμηνύειν<sup>35</sup> τι 23 2  
 κατανοεῖν τι 19 2  
 καταπλεῖν 26 1  
 καταπραίνειν τινα 7 2; τινὰ τῆς  
 ὁργῆς 31 2  
 κατάρσεις ἀναγκαῖαι 9 2  
 κατάρτυσις<sup>1</sup> 2 5  
 κατάρχεσθαι τῶν νεανίσκων 13 2  
 κατασκευάζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ 19 2;  
 ἱερὸν 22 1; ναὸν 30 2.—MED.  
 κατασκευάσασθαι τρήρεις 4  
 1.—PASS. κατεσκευασμένην  
 πολυτελῶς σκηνήν 25 1

κατασκευὴ τῶν ἱερῶν 31 I  
κατασκήπτειν (of a cloud) 15 I  
καταστασιάξεν<sup>1</sup> 5 4.—PASS. 11 I  
καταστρέφειν, *vitam finire* 31 4  
κατάστρομα 11 4, 14 I.—PL.

14 2  
καταυλίσσθαι<sup>3</sup> 30 I bis  
καταφανὴς γίγνεσθαι 23 2  
καταφέρεισθαι πνεύματι 25 I  
καταφέρειν eis 31 2

καταψεύδεσθαι τινος πρὸς τινα

25 2.—PASS. κατεψεύσθαι 2 6

κατεύχεσθαι w. acc. et inf. 28 3

κατέχειν, *potiri, tenere*: τὴν

θάλασσαν ναυσί 4 I; φωνή

κατέχει τὸ πεδῖον 15 I

κατηγορεῖν 23 3; τί τινος 5 I;

αἰ κ. 23 3; κατηγορήσοι 25 I

κατηγορία 2 I.—PL. 23 3

κατῆφεια<sup>2</sup> 9 2

κατιέναι (de exulibus) 11 I, 21 2

κατοφύμενος: v. s. καθορᾶν

Κεῖος 3 2

κεῖσθαι as p. p. of τιθέναι 18 I,

22 I.—de interfectis: cp.

Thuc. VII 75, 3, Xen. An.

VI v 6

κελευστής, 'a boatswain' 19 3

Κέρατα, τὰ 13 I

κεραυνός 29 3

κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντός 26 I

Κεφαλὴ λέωντων 30 I

κεχωσμένος (χωρῶνται) 32 3

κῆδεσθαι w. gen. *curaui gerere*

16 3

κηρύκειον, τό 26 2

κιθαριστής 5 2

κινεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον 3 2;

κ. ἀγῶνα καὶ πάθος 32 2;

κ. δυνάμεις 31 3

κίστη<sup>3</sup> 7 4

κίταρις,<sup>1</sup> ἡ 29 3

κίχρημ, *utendum do*: χρήσαι

φωνῇ Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις

προστάγμασιν 6 2

κλέος 21 4

κοιμᾶσθαι (PASS.) 26 2

κοινός: τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν 2 6;

κοινῇ φωνῇ 13 2; ἀνδρεία καὶ

προθυμία κοινῇ 15 2; κοινῇ

24 I

κοινωνία τῶν πραττομένων 23 2

κόλασις 22 2

κολοῦειν 18 2.—met. 22 2,

[31 3?]

κόλογρις 21 4

κομίζεσθαι (*transportari*) eis

μέσον 10 3; *iter facere* 7 3,

26 3

κομπώδης 8 I

κόνις τεφρώδης 8 3

κοπιᾶν<sup>1</sup> 22 I

κοπώδης<sup>1</sup> 18 3

κοσμεῖν γραφαῖς 1 3.—PASS. 13 2

κόσμοι ἐπισήμων 8 I

κουφισμός<sup>1</sup> φθόνου 22 2

κρατεῖν τῶν παρόδων 9 I; κρ. τῇ

γνώμῃ 10 2; κρ. τῇ χειροτονίᾳ

6 I; τῷ ναυτικῷ 16 2.—abs.

3 I, 6 I

κραυγαί<sup>3</sup> 8 I

κρέα 21 2 (ex Timocreonte):

δείπνον κρεῶν 7 4

κρηπίς εὐμεγέθης 32 3; κρηπίδ<sup>3</sup>

ἐλευθερίας 8 2

κρίνειν, 'to give a decision' 24

I; *reum peragere* 24 3.—

PASS. κριθησόμενος 23 3

κρίσις, *momentum, discrimin* 8

I

κριτής, *arbitrator*, 'a referee' 5 4,

24 I

κροκίζειν<sup>1</sup> 8 2

κροτεῖν 17 2

κρύφα 7 3, 12 2

κῦβαλικοῖσι ἀργυροῖσι 21 3

κυβερνήτης 12 I, 19 3, 25 I

κύκλωσις 12 3

κυνηγέσιον 29 3

κύριος τηλικούτων δυνάμεων 16 I

κυροῦσθαι (PASS.): κυρωθέντος

τοῦ ψηφίσματος 10 3

κωλύειν w. inf. 25 1; w. participle 31 3.—PASS. 20 1  
κωμικός<sup>1</sup> ὁ 19 3  
κώπη 4 3

## Λ

λαμβάνειν: ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν 3 2; λ. σημείον 10 1; λ. τῆς ὁπώρας 10 3.—MED. λαβέσθαι (γῆς), 'to reach (shore)' 25 2  
λαμπρός: λαμπρὸν ἔργον 15 2; (splendidus) ἐν ταῖς δαπάναις 5 1; λαμπρά τράπεζα 29 4; λαμπρὸς τάφος 32 2.—vehemens, λαμπρὸν πνεῦμα 14 2  
λαμπρότης, splendor: λαμπρό-  
τητες ἐπισήμων 8 1.—magnificentia 5 2  
λείψανα, τά, reliquiae 32 2  
Λεοντοκέφαλον 30 1  
λεώφορος, ἡ 30 1  
λιποθυμῶν 10 5  
λογισμός: σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ 23 2; ἀνθρώποι λ. 10 1  
λόγον διδόναι 10 1; λ. διαδιδόναι 19 2; ὁ πολὺς λ. 31 4; λόγον προσφέρειν 30 1; λόγους ἐκφέρειν 23 2; λόγοι μαγικοί 29 3.—ratio 12 5, 14 1  
λοιδορεῖν 5 4  
λύειν τὸ ζεύγμα 16 1 3; λύειν τὴν ἔχθραν 24 1  
λυπηρός, molestus 22 1  
λύραν ἀρμόσασθαι 2 3  
λυσιτελεῖς 26 1; λυσιτελέστερος 20 1  
ΛΩΣΤΟΣ 21 2

## Μ

μαγικοί λόγοι 29 3  
μαθήματα 2 1  
μακαρίζει· ἐαυτὸν πρὸς τινα ἐπ' εὐτυχία 28 3  
μακρός: μακράν 4 2

μαλακὸς τῇ ψυχῇ 6 1; μ. περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον 11 2  
μάντευμα<sup>1</sup> 13 2, 28 2  
ἐν Μαραθῶνι 3 3  
μάρτυρά τινα θέσθαι 28 2  
μαρτυρεῖν 4 4; μ. τινι 32 3  
μάχαιρα<sup>2</sup> τευθίδος 11 4  
μέγα φρονεῖν τινι for ἐπὶ τινι 9 1  
μεγαλοπράγμων 2 1  
μεγαλύνειν 27 2  
μέγεθος 31 1  
μεγίστη ἱκεσία 24 3  
ΜΕΛΕΟΨΧΗ 10 2  
μεθιστάναι (of temporary banishment) 5 4; ad defectionem compellere 9 1.—PASS. τοῖς μεθεστῶσι 10 5  
μεθορία 13 1  
μειράκιον 18 2  
μειρακιώδης 3 2  
μελετᾶν λόγους 2 1; (de cithar-  
oedo) 5 2  
μέλλειν: τὸ μέλλον 3 3  
μελλήσεις ἐμποιοῦν τινι πρὸς τι 16 3  
μελοποιός 21 2  
μέλος 5 4  
μὲν . . . δέ, 'both . . . and' 15 1  
μὲν οὖν, 'in conclusion' 2 4, 7 4, 9 3, 12 3, 17 1, 18 4, 20 1  
μέντοι 1 3, 3 1; μὲν . . . μέντοι 1 1  
μέρος: κατὰ μέρος 15 2, 18 1  
μεσημβρίας 30 1  
μεστὸς φοράς 2 1  
μετά w. Gen. ὑπα cum 1 2, 23 3; πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν 7 1, 12 1; Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες 7 3; μ. τῆς ἀνάγκης 12 3; μετ' ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης 3 2; μετ' ὠρυγῆς 10 5.—w. Acc. post 4 5, 17 1, 21 4, 26 1; μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4  
μετάγειν<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τινος ἐπὶ τι 2 4



μέταλλον : τῶν ἀργυρείων μ. 4 I  
 μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τινα 9 I  
 μετατιθέναι τὰς γνώμας 20 2  
 μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον 2 3  
 μετέχειν γένους 1 3 ; μ. τοῦ  
 πολέμου 20 2 ; μ. τινὸς τι  
 29 2  
 μέτριος, 'reasonable' 5 4  
 ἐν μέτρῳ ἀναφωνεῖν 26 I  
 μέχρι οὗ w. opt. 25 I ; μ. δειλῆς  
 15 2 ; μ. τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων  
 32 4 ; μ. Βοιωτίας 7 I  
 μέχρις, 'whilst' 16 3  
 μή for οὐ 9 2 3, 28 3  
 μηδὲς for οὐδὲς with participle  
 not expressing condition 9 2 ;  
 μηδέν, adv. 27 2  
 μηδίζειν 7 I, 21 4  
 μηδισμός 21 3  
 Μῆδος, ὁ, the king of Media  
 (Persia) 6 I  
 μήπω for οὐπω 5 3  
 μήτε . . . μήτε for οὔτε . . . οὔτε  
 9 3  
 Μητρὸς ἱερὸν 31 I  
 μηχανᾶσθαι τι 26 2 ; μ. ὅπως  
 16 2  
 μηχανή (τραγική) 10 I, 32 2  
 μῆγνυμι : μέλιντες 2 4  
 μικρολογία, 'meanness' 5 I  
 μνᾶσθαι 18 4  
 μνήμα 32 3  
 μνημονεύειν w. gen. *memorare*  
 22 I, 32 I.—PASS. τὰ μνημο-  
 νεύμενα 11 2  
 μνησικακεῖν 28 I  
 μόνιμοι ὀπλίται 4 3  
 μονοῦ 32 2  
 μονοῦσθαι : μεμονωμένους 9 2  
 μόνωσις ἀπὸ του 10 5  
 μορία, ἡ 19 2  
 Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος  
 21 4  
 μοχθηρός : ὦ μοχθηρέ 10 3  
 μυριάς 9 3  
 μυστικός Ἰακχος, ὁ 15 I

## N

ναί 11 2  
 νανάγια 8 3, 14 3  
 ναυαρχεῖν 12 3  
 ναυαρχὴς<sup>1</sup> τριήρης 13 2  
 ναύαρχος 14 2, 18 I  
 ναυβάτης<sup>2</sup> 4 3  
 ναύκληρος 25 I  
 ναυλόχεια,<sup>1</sup> τὰ 9 I  
 ναυμαχεῖν 12 2 ; πρὸς τινα 4 2  
 ναὺς ἱερὰ 7 4  
 ναύτης 19 3  
 νεανικῶς 3 I  
 νεανίσκος 1 2  
 νεκρός 8 3  
 νέμειν ('to possess') κοινῇ 24 I  
 νεότης 2 5  
 νεώριον 20 I  
 νησιώτης 4 I  
 νικᾶν 19 2  
 νοθεῖα 1 2  
 νόθος, 'a half-alien' 1 I ; (X)  
 γνήσιος 1 3  
 νοῦν ἔχειν 5 4, 18 2  
 νύξ : ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή 26 I ; τὰς ν.  
 3 3

## Ξ

ξίφη, τὰ 30 2  
 ξύλινον τεῖχος 10 2

## O

ὁ : τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ 25 2  
 ὁδοιπορία 26 3  
 ὅθεν, *quapropter* 2 2, 19 2, 29 2  
 ὅθι, 'where' 8 2  
 οἰεσθαι δεῖν 5 3  
 οἰκείος 5 I, 31 4 ; τὰ οἰκεῖα 27 2,  
 28 I  
 οἰκία, *familia* : ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγά-  
 λης εἶναι 5 3  
 οἶκοι 26 3

οἰκουρός 10 1  
οἰμαγή<sup>3</sup> 10 5  
οἶον 32 3; οἶα 21 1  
οκνηρῶς 2 2  
ὀλεθρός: ἔβα εἰς ὀλεθρον  
21 2  
ὀλιγαρχία 19 3  
ὀλιγαρχικοί, οἱ 32 2  
ὀλκός 25 1  
ὄλος 17 2; τὰ ὄλα 8 1, 16 2 3  
ὀμλεῖν τινι 18 1  
ὁμοια w. dat., *pariter* 31 2  
ὁμολογεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους 2 5,  
17 2.—PASS. ὁμολογεῖσθαι 2 1  
ὁμομήτριος 32 1  
ὁμορος 4 3  
ὁμοῦ (χωρίς, *simul* 12 1, 14 3,  
15 1, 18 1 2; ὁμοῦ τι, *prop-*  
*modum*, 'pretty nearly' 7 2  
ὁμῶνυμός τινας (subst.) 28 2  
ὄναρ adv. 26 2, 30 1  
ὄνημι: μέγιστα ὄνησαν 8 1  
ὄντως, 'really,' in reference to  
a quotation 8 2  
ὀξέως, *acriter* 14 2  
ὀπώρα, *fructus autumnales* 10 3  
ὀργή ἔχει τινα 9 2; ὁ βασιλική  
24 2; δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν τινά 24  
2; ὀργῇ 29 4  
ὀρέγεσθαι τινος πράγματος 23 2  
ὀρκιδιτομεῖν 21 4  
ὀρμή ἢ πρὸς δόξαν 3 1; ὀρμαὶ  
νεότητος 2 5  
ὀρμῆσαι (ὀρμᾶν) intrans. 12 3  
ὄς: ἦ καὶ ῥᾶν 4 2  
ὄς for οὗτος 12 2  
ὄσάκις, *quotiens* 29 4  
ὄσμή 8 2  
ὄτε for τότε 11 2  
ὄδ=ὕδι 22 1  
οὐ μὴν ἀλλά 3 2, 5 4, 23 3, 29 1  
οὐ πάνυ 4 2, 31 2  
οὐκ ἀξιοῦν, *nolle* 7 2, 11 3  
οὐκ ἄρα 21 3  
οὐκ ὀδ' ὅπως, *nescio quo modo*  
(parenthetically) 24 3

οὐκέτι, *non iam* 27 2  
οὕτως giving greater effect to  
the causal relation of the  
participle which it follows  
24 3, 25 2; οὕτω δὲ 23 3  
ὀφείλειν 28 1, 29 1  
ὀφθῆναι 12 1  
ὀχεῖσθαι, *vehi* 26 3  
ὀψέ 18 2  
ὀψις, *species oris*: αἰσχροῦ τὴν  
δύιν 5 4, 22 2; κάλλιστοι τὴν  
δ. 13 2.—ἐλθεῖν εἰς δύιν τινί  
29 3  
ὀψον 29 4

## II

πάθος, 'emotion' 32 2  
παῖαν 8 1  
παιδαγωγός 12 2, 26 1  
παιδεία: ἀνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας  
2 5; π. καὶ καταρτύσεως 2 5  
παιδεύεσθαι: οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι  
δοκοῦντες 2 3  
παιδευσις for παιδευμα 2 2  
παίξειν 2 1  
παῖς, *puer* 2 1, 32 1; παῖδες,  
*liberi* 2 1; *fili* 32 1; παῖ-  
δες Ἀθηναίων (ex Pin-  
daro) 8 2  
παλαιά ὀργή 24 2; π. τριήρεις  
2 6  
παλλακεύεσθαι (PASS.) 26 3  
παλλακίς 31 2  
ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ (ex Timocreon) 21 3  
πανούργως, *vafre* 1 3  
παντάπασι 3 1, 6 1, 7 3, 20 2  
παντελῶς<sup>3</sup> 20 2  
παντοδαπός: ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΩΝ  
ἄνδρων 8 3; π. ἀνθρώποις  
18 1  
πάντως 2 2  
πάνυ: οὐ πάνυ 4 2; οὐ πάνυ τι  
31 2  
παπταίνειν<sup>1</sup> 3 πρὸς τινα 12 1

παρά: w. Dat. παρ' αὐτῷ, *apud* se 5 2, 29 4, 32 4; π. τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος 26 1, 32 4.— w. Acc. παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν γίγνεσθαι 27 1; π. τοὺς κινδύνους 8 1.—*contra*, παρ' ἄξιαν 5 3; παρὰ μέλος 5 4; παρὰ νόμον 5 4.—*praeter*, παρ' ἡλικίαν 2 2  
 παράβολα<sup>1</sup> πράγματα 23 2  
 παραιεῖσθαι τί τινος, *adimere aliquid aliquid* 4 3  
 παραιεῖσθαι (*deprecari*) ὀργήν 28 1; *recusare* 3 3  
 παρακαλεῖν τινα ἐπὶ τι 23 2.— PASS. π. εὐχαῖς 15 1  
 παρακαταθέσθαι (MED.) 10 2  
 παρακρούεσθαι, *verba dare, decipere* 19 1  
 παραλαβεῖν ('to succeed to') τὴν ἀρχήν 2 3, 7 1  
 παραλλάττειν, *praeterire* 30 1.— PASSIVE παραλλαγμένους, 'strange' 24 2  
 παράλογος<sup>1</sup>) (εὐλογος 13 2  
 παραμυθία<sup>2</sup> φθόνου 22 2  
 παρανήχεσθαι<sup>13</sup> w. dat. 10 5  
 παραπλεῖν, 'to coast' 9 1; 'to sail past' 25 2  
 παράσημον<sup>1</sup> *insigne navis* 8 1, 15 2  
 παρασκευάζειν τινα with fut. partic. 30 1  
 παρασκευάζεσθαι (MED.) w. fut. partic. 12 1  
 παρασκευή 4 2  
 παράταξις 13 1  
 παραιθέσθαι τράπεζαν 29 4  
 παράφορος<sup>1</sup> πρὸς δόξαν 3 3  
 παραφυλάττειν 26 1 3, 30 2  
 παρῆναι πᾶσιν (πάρειμι) 16 2; ἐν τῷ παρόντι 7 4, 9 3

παρέρχεσθαι, *praeterire* 18 1; *prodiere*, παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ στάδιον 17 2; εἰς τὸν δῆμον 4 1; παρίοντος 29 1  
 παρέχειν ἀφορμὰς κατὰ τινος 23 1; π. δέος 4 2; π. πείραν ἐν τινι 16 3; π. διαβολὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ 4 3; π. δόξαν τινι w. inf. 29 2; π. ὀκτον, θάυμα 10 5.—παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν (*praestare se*) κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ 5 4; παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον 31 2.—*reddere*: παρέχειν τινα πειθόμενον 7 2  
 παρίεναι: μὴ παρίεναι φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς 12 2; παρίεναι τὴν ἀρχήν τινι 7 2.—PASS. τὰ παρειμένα ἐπαυροῦσθαι 16 2  
 παρίστασθαι 11 3, 13 1  
 παροξύνειν τινα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην 12 3; παροξύνειν τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτὸν 7 4; π. αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας 23 1; π. τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον 32 2.—PASS. παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν 31 3  
 παρορᾶσθαι (PASS.) 2 6  
 παρουσία 12 3  
 παροχετεύειν<sup>2</sup> 31 1  
 παρηρσία χρῆσθαι 29 2  
 παρηρσιάζεσθαι 29 1  
 πάσχειν: εὖ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τινος 22 1; πάσχειν τι πρὸς τι, *affici ab aliquo re* 31 1  
 πατάσσειν: πατάξον 11 3  
 πατήρ: πατὴρ εἶναι, 'to be the son of' 1 1  
 πάτριον 27 2  
 πεζικὴ δύναμις 4 5  
 πεζός: τὸ π. 11 2; οἱ π. 12 2; τὰ πεζά, *res pedestris* 4 3  
 Πειθῶ 21 1  
 πείρα 8 1  
 πέλαγος 14 2; ΠΕΛΑΓΕΙ 8 3  
 πέμπεσθαι (PASS.) 7 1; τὰ πέμμενα πωλεῖν 5 1

Πενία 21 1  
 περαίνειν 20 1  
 περαιούσθαι 16 3  
 πέρας, *finis* 3 3  
 περί, local: π. τὰ στενά 8 1;  
 δένδρα περί αὐτὸν πέφυκε 8 2.  
 —ή περί τὸν βίον μεταβολή 3  
 3; ή περί τὸν Σίκιννον βοήθεια  
 12 1.—μαλακὸς περί τὸν κιν-  
 δυνον 11 3.—οι περί Εὐρυβιά-  
 δην, 'Eurybiades' 7 3  
 περιβάλλειν τὰς πτέρυγας 26 2.  
 —MED. τὸν πόρον περιβαλέσ-  
 θαι πάντα 12 2  
 περιβοητός 15 2  
 περιβολαί, *amplexus* 10 5  
 περιγίγνεσθαι τινός τινι 7 2  
 περιελίττεσθαι (PASS.) κατὰ τῆς  
 γαστρος 26 2  
 περιέρχεσθαι 30 1  
 περιέχεσθαι τινος 9 2  
 περιεΐσθαι (PASS. OF ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ)  
 ψέλιον 18 1  
 περικόπτειν 15 2  
 περιλυπος 2 6  
 πέριξ 8 3, 12 1  
 περιπίπτειν w. dat. 15 2, 30 1  
 περιπλεῖν 7 3  
 περιφανής 13 2  
 περίφοβος 16 3  
 περιφράττεσθαι (PASS.) 26 3  
 Περσίς γλώσσα, ή 29 2  
 πηγνύναι: PASS. πεπήγασι 8 2  
 πίναξ τῆς νίκης 5 3  
 πιπράσκειν χωρίων 18 4  
 Πισίδαι 30 1  
 πιστὶν ἔχειν (passive) 12 3  
 πλάγιος 14 2  
 πλανᾶσθαι περί τὴν Ἀσίαν 31 2  
 πλάτanos 18 2  
 πλάττειν διηγῆματα 2 6.—PASS.  
 πέπλασται 32 2  
 πλεῖν, of things 25 2  
 πλήθος χρημάτων 10 4, 25 2;  
 πλῆθει νέων 4 1; πλῆθι νέων  
 8 1

πληροῦν ναὺς 12 2.—PASS. 10 3  
 πλησιάζειν τινι 2 4  
 πνεῦμα 25 1; π. λαμπρόν 14 2  
 ποιεῖν, 'to represent' 24 3;  
 ποιεῖν τι εἰς τινα, 'to compose  
 something about some one'  
 21 3.—MED. *faciendum cur-*  
*are*, αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας 5 4, 31 1.  
 —*ingere* 10 4.—*uōn*, 'to  
 adopt' 32 1.—in periphrases,  
 π. γνώμην 16 1; π. τὴν ἀνα-  
 χώρησιν 16 3; π. ἐπιτήδευμα  
 2 4; π. μεταβολὰς 2 5; π.  
 ἐξοστρακισμόν 22 1.—PASS.  
 19 3; ἐποιήθησαν τριῆρεις 4 2  
 ποικίλος, *ricinus* 29 2; *versutus*  
 29 1  
 πολεμικά, τὰ 31 3  
 πολισμάτιον<sup>1</sup> 26 1  
 πολιτεία: ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολι-  
 τείας 25 2; ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς π.  
 23 2; ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολι-  
 τεῖα καθιστάναι 20 2; ἀκμά-  
 ζειν ἐν τῇ π. 24 2.—PL. ἐν  
 πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις 31 4  
 πολιτεύεσθαι 2 5; π. πρὸς χάριν  
 3 2; hinc *πολίτευμα* 4 4  
 πολιτικός 2 1; πολιτικὴ δεινότης  
 2 4; τὰ π. πράγματα 3 1  
 πολλοστήμριον w. gen. 16 3  
 πολὺς: ὁ π. λόγος 31 4; τὸ π.  
 26 4; οἱ π. 21 6; τὰ π. 3 3;  
 ἀρέσκειν τοῖς π. 5 4; ἀπόρ-  
 ρητον πρὸς τοὺς π. 20 1  
 πομπός 17 2  
 πονεῖσθαι (an irregular passive),  
 τῶν αὐτῷ πονηθέντων 17 2  
 πορίζειν 10 3  
 πόρος 12 2; τὸν διὰ μέσου π. 16  
 1; βραχεῖ πόρῳ 13 1  
 πόρωθεν ἔτι 3 4  
 πόσις 28 3  
 πότοι 3 3  
 που, *alicubi* 5 4  
 πᾶγμα: τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς π. 31  
 2; τὰ π., *imperium* 6 1

πραγμάτεια 12 1  
 πραγματευέσθαι w. inf., *id agere*  
 uí 19 2  
 πράξις: πράξεις )( λόγοι 2 4;  
 π. Περσικά 29 4; π. Ἑλληνι-  
 καί 29 4, 30 1; π. μεγάλων  
 3 3.—'intrigue' 2 3  
 πρᾶος φύσει 3 2  
 πραδῆς 11 3  
 πράττειν τὰ κοινά = πολιτεύεσθαι  
 2 6.—'to intrigue' 23 2.—  
 PASS. τὰ πραττόμενα 23 2  
 πρέπειν 31 4; πρέποντά ἐστι  
 28 1  
 πρό, 'in defence of' 9 2  
 προάγειν, 'to bring on the  
 stage' 32 2; 'to promote,  
 prefer,' π. τινὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς (un-  
 classical) 20 2; προαγαγεῖν<sup>2</sup>  
 τινὰ εἰς δόξαν 7 2  
 προαίρεσις 2 1  
 προαισθάνεσθαι 24 1  
 προβάλλειν, *proicere* 22 1  
 προδοσία 9 2, 23 1 2  
 προδόταν 21 3  
 προεξανίστασθαι 11 2  
 προέρχεσθαι 12 3; εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
 20 1  
 προεἶσθαι (MED.) *deserere* 7 3,  
 9 3; πρ. τινὰ δι' ἀργύριον 21  
 2; πρ. τὰς πατρίδας 11 3; πρ.  
 βοήθειαν 12 1  
 προκείσθαι 32 3  
 προκινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευ-  
 θερίας 9 1; πρ. τινός 7 1  
 προκρίνειν τινά τινας 18 4  
 προτρέμειν, *adeuntem comitari*  
 10 5  
 προπηλακισθῆς 24 2  
 πρὸς: w. Gen. πρὸς μητρός, 'on  
 the mother's side' 1 1.—w.  
 Dat. π. ἐαυτῷ 3 3; π. τῇ  
 θαλάττῃ 2 6.—'in addition  
 to' 31 4.—w. Acc. 'to,'  
 φοιτᾶν π. αὐτόν 5 2; 'to-  
 wards,' π. τὴν σελήην 30 2;

ἐξισταμένη π. τὸ χεῖρον 2 5;  
 π. ἐαυτὸν λόγους συνταττό-  
 μενος 2 1; π. τὴν χώραν  
 ἀποστρέφειν τὸ βῆμα 19 3.—  
*propter* 10 5, 16 1.—*ad* in  
 significando effectu 28 2;  
 πολιτεύεσθαι π. χάριν 3 2;  
 ἀμαυρότερα π. δόξαν 1 1; π.  
 ἡδονήν, χάριν 2 2, 6 2.—of  
 personal relation 23 1, 27 1,  
 29 4  
 προσάγειν τῷ βωμῷ 13 2.—MED.  
 π. τὸ πλῆθος 10 1.—PASS. *ad-*  
*ducere*, προσήχθησαν 13 2  
 προσαγορεύειν 22 1.—PASS. 2 6  
 προσαμύνειν<sup>3</sup> 9 2  
 προσ-αν-έρπειν<sup>14</sup> 26 2  
 προσγίγνεσθαι τινι 7 1  
 προσδιέρχεσθαι<sup>1</sup> 28 2  
 προσδοκᾶν 3 4  
 προσέμαζεν 19 3  
 προσέχειν τινι 2 4, 7 1, 14 2  
 Προσῆως 8 2  
 προσίεσθαι ἡδέως διαβολήν 22 1  
 προσιστορεῖν<sup>1</sup> 27 3  
 προσιών 29 1  
 προσκατασκευάζειν 16 2  
 προσκρούειν τινι 20 2  
 προσκυνεῖν 27 2, 28 1, 29 1  
 προσμάττειν 19 3, 28 1  
 προσμύσγειν, *pervenire ad* 7 3  
 πρόσσδος ἡ Λαυρεωτική 4 1  
 προσοφλισκάνειν 5 3  
 προσπεριβάλλεσθαι<sup>1</sup> 7 3  
 προσπίπτειν πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν 24  
 2; (de vento) 14 2; *προσ-*  
*πεσοῦσαι* (de navibus) 14 3;  
 τὸ προσπίπτον 18 1  
 προσποιεῖσθαι 10 4  
 πρόσρησις 32 3  
 πρόσταγμα 6 2  
 προστάττειν 20 1, 28 1  
 προστιθέναι τινι, 'to attribute  
 to' 1 2; προστιθέναι ἐαυτὸν  
 τινι 11 1.—MED. προσθέσθαι  
 τῇ γνώμῃ 12 1

πρόσφατος )( παλαιός 24 2  
 προσφέρειν λόγον τινί 31 1.—  
 MED. *congruē* 12 1, 14 2, 15  
 2, 30 2; *ori admonere* 31 4  
 (ὡς) προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 1  
 πρότερος w. gen. 27 3  
 προτίθεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τινι, *arropi* 10 1  
 πρύμνα, *pyrris* 14 2  
 πρωτεῖον, τό 17 1  
 πρωτεύειν 3 1; ἀρμάτων τό  
 πρωτεῖον 17 2  
 παρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν 13 2  
 Πυλαγόραι, αἱ 20 2  
 πύλη: ἔξω πυλῶν 1 2  
 πυρίκαυστος<sup>13</sup> 8 3  
 πυρπολεῖν, *igni vastare* 9 2  
 πῶλος 5 1; π. τραχύτατοι 2 5

## P

πάθουμιν 2 1  
 ῥῆον 4 2  
 πατίζειν<sup>5</sup> 11 2  
 ῥήτωρ 2 4  
 ῥίπτειν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χα-  
 λπὰς 24 2.—PASS. ἔρριμ-  
 μένος, *adiectus* 2 6

## Σ

σατραπεύειν w. gen. 30 1  
 σηκός,<sup>35</sup> ὁ 10 1  
 σημαίνειν, *open edere* 13 2  
 ΣΗΜΑΤΑ 8 3  
 σημεία δαιμόνια 10 1  
 σιωπῇ 28 1  
 σκηνή 12 3, 25 1; σκηναί 5 2,  
 26 3  
 σκιάς ('canopy') χρυσῇ 16 2  
 σοφία, 'science' 2 4  
 σοφιστής 2 4  
 σπουδάζειν πρὸς τι 27 1; περὶ  
 τινα 2 3.—PASS. 'to be seri-  
 ously pursued' 2 2; *magni*  
*aestimari* 5 2

σπουδῇ ἔχειν 5 3  
 στάδιον 17 2  
 στασιάζειν περὶ τὰ δημόσια 3 2  
 στενά, τὰ 7 1, 8 1, 12 1 3, 14 2  
 στενάζειν<sup>3</sup> 29 1  
 στόλος 7 3, 12 1, 20 1  
 στόμα: ἀπὸ στόματος 5 4;  
 'front' of an army or fleet  
 7 3  
 στρατεύεσθαι 10 3  
 στρατηγεῖν 5 4  
 στρατήγημα<sup>2</sup> (*de rebus non bel-*  
*licis*) 10 4  
 στρατηγία 3 3, 6 4  
 στρατηγός 6 1  
 στρεπτός, *torques* 18 1  
 στρώματα 29 2  
 στρωμή, *cubile* 29 4  
 συγγενής<sup>2</sup> φθόνος 24 2  
 συγγενικά<sup>1</sup> ἐγκλήματα 5 1  
 συγ-κατα-ψηφίζεσθαι<sup>1</sup> 21 4  
 συγχωρεῖν τί τινι 5 3  
 συλλαμβάνειν 6 2, 23 3, 30 2  
 συμβόλαια 5 4  
 συμμαχεῖν κατὰ τινος 20 2  
 συμπαρεθεῖν 10 5  
 συμπεῖθευ 4 2.—PASS. 23 3  
 συμπίπτειν: τὰ συμπεσόντα 23 1  
 συμπλέκεσθαι 8 1  
 συμπροθυμείσθαι 12 3  
 συμφέρειν 16 2.—MED. 27 1  
 συμφρονεῖν<sup>1</sup> 28 2  
 σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ 23 2  
 συναγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐντὸς Ἰσθ-  
 μοῦ 9 2.—PASS. *χημάτων*  
*συναχθέντων* εἰς τὸ δημόσιον  
 25 2  
 συναγωνίσασθαι 6 2  
 συνδιατρίβειν abs. w. dat. 2 3  
 συνέδριον Ἑλληνικόν 20 2  
 συνεθλίζεν w. inf. 19 2  
 σνυεῖπειν w. dat. 20 2  
 συνεκπέμπειν 17 2  
 συν-επ-αιτιάσθαι abs. 23 1  
 συν-επι-λαμβάνεσθαι<sup>2</sup> 12 3  
 συνερειδαί<sup>1</sup> intrans. 14 3

σύνεσις 2 2 4  
 συνετός 2 1  
 συνηγορία 2 1  
 συνήθης, *sollennis, consuetus* 3  
 3; *amicus, familiaris* 29 3;  
 as subst. 32 4  
 σύννους<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἑαυτῷ 3 3  
 συνορᾶν, *considerare, intellegere*,  
 'to see comprehensively' 7 2,  
 8 2, 14 2  
 συνταράττειν 9 1.—PASS. συν-  
 τεταραγμένοι 27 1  
 συντάττεσθαι<sup>1</sup> (MED.) abs., 'to  
 compose' 2 1  
 συντελεῖν *els* (*pertinere ad*)  
 Κυνόσαργες 1 2.—PASS. *per-*  
*agi*, ἐκέλευσε τὴν θυσίαν συν-  
 τελεσθῆναι 13 2  
 συντιθέναι 12 1  
 σύντονος 5 1  
 συντραγωδεῖν<sup>1</sup> 24 3  
 συντρέχειν 7 4  
 σύντροφα ζῶα 10 5  
 σύστασις, *conventus* 27 3  
 συστέλλειν, *in artum contrahere*  
 4 3.—PASS. 'to be folded' )( *(*  
 ἐκτείνεσθαι 29 2  
 σφαγιάζεσθαι (MED.) 13 2  
 σφάλλειν (*de vento*) 14 2  
 σφεῖς: σφᾶς 7 3, 11 4  
 σφέτλιος 10 2  
 σχολάζειν, *otiarī* 18 3  
 σχολὴν ἀγειν 31 2; σχολαί,  
 'leisure hours' 2 1  
 σφῆξεσθαι=σῶς εἶναι 11 3, 28 1

## T

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, *partim . . .*  
*partim* 25 2  
 τάλαντον ἀργυρίου 7 4  
 ταπεινοὺν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας 22 2  
 ταράττειν (*turbando excitare*)  
 δίκας 5 1  
 παραχῇ 26 2

ταύρειον αἷμα 31 4  
 τάφος 10 5; 'monument' 32 3  
 τάχος: διὰ τάχους 16 2 3;  
 τάχει 14 1  
 ταχύ, *cito* 3 1  
 ταχύς: τὴν ταχίστην 7 3  
 τε . . . τε 12 2  
 τέθειμαι only as middle 18 1  
 τειχισμός 19 1  
 τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τινος 18 1  
 τελεῖν μισθοὺς 10 3  
 τελεστήριον<sup>2</sup> 1 3  
 τέλος<sup>2</sup> (*edictum*) ἐκφέρειν 12 2.  
 —adv. *tandem* 5 4  
 τευθίς, ἡ 11 4  
 τεφρώδης<sup>1</sup> 8 3  
 τέχνηαι δικανικαί 2 4  
 τῖάρα, ἡ 29 3  
 τίκτειν: MED. ΤΕΚΕΨΘΑΙ 1 1  
 τίλλειν (*πλάττανον*) 18 2  
 τιμαί 29 2  
 τιμωρεῖσθαι τινα 24 2  
 τις restrictive w. adj. 22 2  
 τοι 11 3  
 τοιοῦτος 19 1; ref. to what fol-  
 lows 5 3; τὰ τοιαῦτα 5 3  
 τότε with article 12 3  
 τούναντιον 5 1  
 τούνομα 5 4  
 τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ 5 4  
 τραγωδία 10 1, 32 2  
 τραγωδοὺς νικᾶν χορηγῶν 5 3  
 τράχηλος 26 2  
 τραχύς πῶλος 2 5  
 τρέπεσθαι πρὸς πόσιν 28 3;  
 τρέψασθαι, *fugare* 15 2  
 τριάκοντα, οἱ 19 3  
 τριήραρχος 7 4  
 τριηρίτης, *remex in triremi* 7 4  
 τρώπαιον 3 3, 31 4  
 τρόπος 3 2  
 τροφεύς 10 5  
 τυρῶν 16 1  
 τυγχάνειν: ὁ τυχῶν 32 2  
 ΤΥΜΒΟC 32 3  
 τύπτειν τοῖς δόρασι 14 3

## Υ

- ὑδρεῖα<sup>2</sup> 9 I  
 ὑδροφόρος<sup>1</sup> κόρη, ἡ 31 I  
 ὕδωρ 6 2; ἐπιστάτης ὑδάτων 31 I  
 ὑπάγειν 4 3  
 ὑπάρχειν 4 4, 19 I, 26 I  
 ὑπ-εκ-κλέπτεσθαι 25 2  
 ὑπ-εκ-τίθεσθαι, *clam ablegare*  
 (in locum tutum) 10 3  
 ὑπέρ: w. Gen. *supra* 7 3, 13 I;  
 προ 3 3, 9 I, 10 3, 17 2; *de*  
 16 2.—w. Acc. *supra*, 'be-  
 yond' 8 2, 13 I  
 ὑπερβάλλειν, *superare* 5 2, 7 2  
 ὑπερέχειν 22 2  
 ὑπερηφανῶς χρῆσθαι τινι 18 2  
 ὑπέρκοποι τάχει 14 I  
 ὑπεροῶν 2 3  
 ὑπεροχή<sup>1</sup> 22 2  
 ὑπερφῶς 31 3  
 ὑπεύδιον,<sup>13</sup> τό 32 3  
 ὑπήκοος 24 3  
 ὑπηρέσιον, τό 4 3  
 ὕπνοι, μέσοι οἱ 28 3  
 ὑπό: w. Gen. *prae*, ὑπὸ δέους 16  
 I; ἀκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου 17 I;  
 ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν οὐ προσέχειν 31  
 2; ὑ. χαρᾶς βοᾶν 28 3.—  
 with gen. of personal agent  
 after pass. verb 1 3, 11 I, 18  
 I, 24 I, 25 I, 26 I, 28 I, 29  
 3 4, 32 I; of things, ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἔργων διδασκόμεντας 8 I; after  
 neuter verb, ὑ. τῶν αὐτῶν εἰ  
 πάσχειν 22 I; after verbal  
 subst. 2 6  
 ὑποδέχεσθαι 10 3  
 ὑποδύμια, τὰ 30 2  
 ὑπονοεῖν (χ) γινώσκειν 32 3  
 ὑπονοστεῖν,<sup>2</sup> *reverti* 15 I  
 ὑπόπλητος ἀργυρίου (ex  
 Timocreonte) 21 3  
 ὑποπτικότερος, 'more suspicious'  
 9 I  
 ὑπόσχεσιν βεβαιῶν 31 3

- ὑποτιθέναι: ὑποθεῖς κάτω 7 4;  
 ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ βασιλικῇ  
 ὀργῇ 24 I.—MED. *auctorem*  
*consilii fieri*: ὑποθέσθαι 24 3  
 ὑποτρέχειν πλατάνῳ 18 2  
 ὑστεραῖα 18 3  
 ὑστερεῖν (*vitare*) τινος 30 I  
 ὑφαιρέσθαι (MED.) 31 I  
 ὑφηγείσθαι τινι 10 I  
 ὑφίστασθαι ἀπεχθείας 3 I; *ex-*  
*cipere*, ὑποστήναί τινα 14 3  
 ὑψόροφα<sup>3</sup> καταστρώματα 14 2

## Φ

- ΦΑΕΝΝΑΝ 8 2  
 φαίνομαι w. participle 23 2;  
 without partic. 2 6  
 φανερός 25 2  
 φαντάσματα<sup>23</sup> καὶ εἰδῶλα 15 I  
 φάρμακον ἐφήμερον 31 4  
 φέρειν βαρέως εἰ 12 I; φ. χαλε-  
 πῶς 23 2.—φέρων studium  
*indicat* 24 2.—φέρεισθαι (*im-*  
*petu ferri*) ἐπὶ τι 8 I  
 φήμη 27 2  
 ΦΗΜΙ 1 I; ἔφησεν 29 I  
 φθόνον ἔχειν (PASS.) 29 2  
 φιλανθρώπως 31 4  
 φιλοθύτης 5 I  
 φιλονικία 4 2  
 φιλοσοφώτερον 4 4  
 φιλοτιμείσθαι w. acc. and inf. 5 2  
 φιλοτιμία 3 3, 5 2 3  
 φιλοτίμως ὑποδέχεσθαι 10 3  
 φιλοφρόνως προσεπείν 29 I  
 Φλυήσιν 1 3, 15 2  
 φοιτᾶν πρὸς τινα 5 2  
 φορᾶ<sup>2</sup>: φορᾶς μεστός 2 I  
 φορτικῶς: φορτικώτερον 2 3  
 φρόνημα, 'high spirit' 28 3  
 φρόνησις, *prudentia* 16 3  
 φυγάς 21 I, 28 I  
 φύεσθαι (PASS.): ἀρχεσθαι πε-  
 φυκῶς 23 3



φυλάττειν, 'to guard' 7 1; 'to watch for' 14 2.—PASS. 'to be kept up' 32 4  
 φυσικοί<sup>1</sup> φιλόσοφοι, οἱ 2 3  
 φύσις: τῇ φύσει πιστεύειν 2 2;  
 τῇ φ. καθ' αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι 2 5;  
 τῇ φ. συνετός 2 1; τῇ φ. φιλο-  
 τιμότητος 18 1; πρῶτος φύσει  
 3 2; ἄγριον φύσει 26 2  
 φυτεύειν 19 2  
 φῶνη κατέχει τὸ πεδίον 15 1; φ.  
 Ἑλληνίς 6 2; ΝΥΚΤΙ ΦΩΝΗΝ  
 ΔΙΔΟΥΣ 26 1  
 φῶραν 32 2

## X

χαλεπαίνειν 12 1, 19 1, 31 2  
 χαλεπός 13 2, 26 2; χ. ἐλπιδες  
 24 2  
 χαλεπῶς ἀκούειν 9 3; χ. δια-  
 κείσθαι 29 1; χ. φέρειν 23 2  
 χαλκώματα<sup>2</sup>=ἐμβολοὶ 14 3  
 χαρίζεσθαι τί τινι 28 1; χ. παρὰ  
 νόμον 5 4  
 χάρις ἐλευθέρως 2 2  
 χεῖρ: εἰς χεῖρας λέναι 8 1; τὰς  
 χ. ἐπέχειν 15 1  
 χεῖρον, τό 2 5; χ. χώραν 11 4  
 χειροτονία 6 1  
 χιλίαρχος 27 1 3, 29 1  
 χίλις 14 1  
 χλευάζεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> ludibrio haberi  
 2 3  
 χορηγεῖν 5 3; χορηγεῖν<sup>2</sup> (met.)  
 7 4. Cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 240  
 ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σπαντοῦ χορη-  
 γεῖς  
 χορηγία<sup>2</sup> 5 1  
 χρημάτων ἥττων 6 1; χρημάτων  
 πλῆθος 10 4, 25 2; ἐκ τῶν χ.  
 4 1; χρήμασιν ἐξωνήσασθαι  
 6 1; χρήμασι πείσας 19 1;  
 ἐπὶ χρήμασι κατελθεῖν 20 2;  
 θεραπεύειν χρήμασι 31 2  
 χρηματίζειν, 'to transact busi-

ness' 18 1.—MED. χρηματί-  
 ζεσθαι ἀπό τινος, 'to make  
 money by a person' 21 1  
 χρηματιστής 5 1  
 χρῆσαι, commodare 6 2  
 χρῆσθαι τινι φιλανθρώπως 31 4;  
 χ. τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν 2 5  
 χρησμοί 10 1  
 χρηστὸς γέγων 18 4  
 χρῶα 8 2  
 χρονικά,<sup>1</sup> τὰ 27 1  
 χρόνοι, οἱ 2 3  
 χῶμα: διὰ χωμάτων 16 1  
 χωρίον 18 4  
 χωρίς 12 2

## Ψ

ψαλτήριον<sup>1</sup> 2 3  
 ψέλια, armillae 18 1  
 ψεύσαν 21 2  
 ψήφος 17 1, 20 2  
 ψύχεσθαι<sup>2</sup> (PASS.) 30 2  
 ΨΥΧΡὰ ΚΡΕΑ 21 3

## Ω

ὦδ' ἔχει ΛΟΓΟΣ 14 1  
 ὦμοστῆς<sup>1 3</sup> Διόνυσος 13 2  
 ὠνησαι (ὀνίστημι) 8 1  
 ὦρα, cura: ΜΗ ὦραν ΓΕΝΕ-  
 ΘΑΙ 21 2; ὦρα (ἐστὶ) w. in-  
 fin., tempus est 16 2  
 ὠρκαδιόμει 21 4  
 ὠρυγή<sup>1</sup> 10 5  
 ὦς ... καὶ 29 2; ὦς w. pres. or  
 past part. 4 3, 7 4, 14 2, 22  
 1; w. fut. partic. 10 2, 14 2.  
 —i. q. ὅτι prefixed to a direct  
 quotation 2 2.—ὦς δὴ ψ. Gen.  
 abs. 2 6, 5 1, 15 1.—for ὥστε,  
 'so that' 5 4, 26 3; ὦς δὴ  
 14 1; w. superl. ὦς προσ-  
 ωτάτω 7 1.—temporal 29 1  
 ὥσπερ 32 2  
 ὥστε, 'so,' 'accordingly' 27 3  
 ὥφθη 12 1

## INDEX II MATTERS AND GRAMMAR

### A

- Abrotonum, a Thracian woman,  
 mother of Themistocles 1 1 2  
 abstract nouns, plurals of,  
 common in late Greek 2 1  
 8 1  
 accusative of specification 1 1.  
 3 2, 4 3, 5 4, 8 2, 22 2, 24 2,  
 25 2, 31 1; adverbial accus-  
 ative 8 2, 19 2, 26 2  
 Acharnae, the largest of the  
 Attic demes 24 3  
 Adeimantus, archonship of  
 (B.C. 477) 5 3  
 adjective, simple, for adjective  
 with *ὡς* 23 2; for subst. 4 4  
 Admetus, king of the Molossi,  
 reception of Them. by 24 2  
 Aeacus, the descendants of,  
 supernatural appearance of,  
 before the battle of Salamis  
 15 1  
 Aegae 26 1  
 Aegean as opp. to Ionian sea  
 25 1  
 Aegina 15 1, 19 1; war be-  
 tween Athens and 4 1  
 Aeginetans, pre-eminence of  
 the, at Salamis 17 1  
 Aegypt, the revolt of, from  
 Persia 31 3
- Aeolia 26 1  
 Aeschylus, the *Persae* of 14 1  
 agriculture favourable to oli-  
 garchical principles 19 3  
 Agrule, a deme in the tribe  
 Erechtheis 23 1  
 Alcimus 32 3  
 Alcmena 1 2  
 Alcmeon, father of Leobotes  
 23 1  
 Alopece, a deme in Attica 32 1  
 Ameinias, of Declea, dis-  
 tinguishes himself at the  
 battle of Salamis 14 3  
 Ammonius, the philosopher, a  
 teacher of Plutarch 32 4  
 Amphictyonic league, the 20 2  
 Anaxagoras, not the teacher of  
 Themistocles 2 3; intimate  
 companion of Pericles 2 3  
 Andros, siege of, by Them.  
 21 1  
 Antiphates and Them. 18 2  
 antithesis, chiasmic 19 3, 24 2  
 aorist and imperfect in same  
 sentence 4 3, 31 1  
 Aphetæ in Magnesia, Persian  
 fleet at 7 2  
 Apollo *δαφνηφόρος* 15 1  
 appearances, supernatural, pre-  
 ceding the battle of Salamis  
 15 1

- Archeptolis, son of Them. 32 1  
 Archippe, first wife of Them. 32 1  
 Architeles, story about, from Phantias 7 4  
 Areopagus, the council of the, their vote to the Athenian seamen 10 3  
 Argives 20 2  
 Argos, neutral but suspected of Medism 23 1; unfriendly to Sparta 23 1  
 Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, his death 14 2  
 Arimanius 28 3  
 Aristides, son of Lysimachus (12 3), the unselfish character of his policy 3 2; his forced antagonism to Themistocles 3 2; his ostracism 5 4, 12 3; comes by night to the tent of Themistocles to inform the chiefs that they are enclosed by the Persians and that escape is impossible 12 3; his opposition to a proposal of Themistocles 16 1 2, 20 1; celebrated by Timocreon as the best of Athenians 21 2  
 Aristobule, epithet of Artemis 22 1  
 Ariston 3 2  
 Arnaces, a captive Persian, bearer of Themistocles' message to Xerxes after the battle of Salamis 16 2  
 Artabanus 27 1  
 Artaiectos 13 2  
 Artemis, temple of *Προσηγία* at Artemisium 8 2 3; at Athens founded by Them. 22 1  
 Artemisia, distinguished galantry of, at the battle of Salamis 14 3  
 Artemisium 7 1, 9 2; battle of, the foundation of Athenian independence 8 2  
 Arthmius of Zelea, decree against him 6 2  
 article with adverb 2 4, 4 4, 24 2  
     with *πρόπ.* and case 2 4  
     with *τοιούτος* 5 3  
     with numerals 31 4  
     third attributive position of 27 2  
     referring to two different nouns 8 3  
     for possessive pronoun 24 3  
     omitted with predicate nouns 31 5; with *γέ- νος* 6 2; with names of familiar places 1 2; in enumeration 6 2, 10 2 3; with certain expressions, *ἐξω πύλ- ων* 1 2, *ἐπὶ θύρας* 29 1  
 Ἀσία χώρα 8 3, 16 1  
 Asia, youngest of the children of Themistocles 32 1  
 Athene and Poseidon 19 2  
 Athenians, reputation of the 7 2; hopeless situation of, after the battle of Thermopylae 9 2; conduct of, on the approach of Xerxes 10 3; pathetic scene at their departure from Athens on the approach of Xerxes 10 5; number of their vessels at Salamis 14 1  
 Athenian citizenship, birth-test of 1 1; seamen, justice not done to them by Plato 4 3  
 Athens, saved by her navy 4 4; the ancient kings of 19 2  
 Attica, division of population of, into ten local tribes 1 1

attraction : ὁ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσός  
for ὁ τῶν Μήδων χρυσός ἐκ  
Μήδων 6 2

B

Boeotia 7 1, 9 2

C

Caria, a woman of 1 2

Ceos 3 2, 5 4

Cerata 13 1

Cheileōs of Tegea, his sound  
advice to the Greeks 6 2

Chios 32 1

choregus, the office of 5 3

Cilicia 31 3

Cimon, rivalry between him  
and Themistocles at Olym-  
pia 5 2; a political opponent  
of Them., favoured by Sparta  
20 2; puts Epicrates to death  
24 3; his naval and military  
successes 31 3 4

Cleophantus, a son of Them.  
32 1

coins in Magnesia struck by  
Them. 31 2

conditional sentences, protasis  
implied in the participle 5 4,  
18 3

co-ordination of contrasted  
clauses, where one is pro-  
perly subordinate to the  
other 5 4

Corcyra, friendly reception of  
Them. at 24 1

Cyme 26 1

Cynosarges 1 2

Cynossema 10 5

Cyprus 31 3

D

Darius 4 2

dative for acc. of specification  
2 1, 3 2, 6 1, 12 2; of cause

31 4; of means instead of gen.  
of price 6 1; of time 10 1;  
of agent after aor. partic. 17  
2; *dativus militaris* 12 2;  
of place, chiefly confined to  
the names of Attic demes, as  
Μαραθῶνι, Αἰξωνῇσι, Ἄλ-  
πεκῇσι, Φλυῇσι (1 3, 15 2),  
G. § 190 n. 1, Madvig *Ad-  
vers.* 1 p. 566

Decelea 14 5

Demaratus, story of, and the  
king of Persia 29 3

Demeter : Μητρὸς ἱερὸν 31 1

democracy and sea-life, con-  
nexion between 19 3

Demopolis, son of Them. 32 2

devices on ships 15 2

Dindymene Cybele 30 2

Diocles, son of Them. 32 1

Dionysus ὠμάδιος or ὠμηστής  
13 2

dog, story of Xanthippus' 10 5

Dodona, site of the temple of  
Zeus at 28 2

Doris, Xerxes' march through  
9 2

E

*Ectioneia* 32 3

Eleusinian procession, the 15 1  
ellipse of εἰμί 1 1; of ἐστὶ with

ἄξιον 32 3; w. ἀρχή 8

2; w. δεινόν 20 2; w.

δυνατόν 10 2, 16 2; w.

δίκαιον 21 3; w. εἰκός

21 3; w. λόγος 27 2,

31 4; w. ὅλον τε 9 1;

w. ὦρα 16 2; of ᾗ 32

4; of ὣν 23 2

of ἡμέρα : τὴν ὑστεραλα  
18 3

of ὁδός : τὴν ἐναντίαν 3 1;

ἑτέρα 30 1; μακράν 4

2; τὴν ταχίστην 7 2, 16

2; τὴν λεωφόρον 30 1

ellipse of λέγουσι 31 4  
 of preposition in similes  
 where ὡς (ὥσπερ) pre-  
 cedes 32 2  
 emphatic statement introduced  
 by καί 4 1  
 Epicles of Hermione, the musi-  
 cian 5 2  
 Epicrates of Acharnae, put to  
 death for the service ren-  
 dered by him to Themistocles  
 24 3  
 Epicydes, son of Euphemides,  
 bought off by Them. when a  
 candidate for the office of  
 strategus 6 1  
 Epirus, Them. takes refuge in  
 24 2  
 Epixyes, a Persian satrap, his  
 conspiracy against Them.  
 30 1  
 Eretrians, the commander of  
 the, at Salamis 11 4; an  
 Eretrian woman instrumen-  
 tal to the interview of Them:  
 with the King of Persia  
 27 3  
 Ergoteles 26 1  
 Euboeans, their secret proposal  
 to Them. 7 3  
 Euphemides 6 1  
 Euphrantides 13 2  
 Europe 16 1  
 Eurybiades, Them. yields to  
 his pretensions 7 2; wishes  
 to effect a junction between  
 the land and naval forces  
 7 3; in command of the  
 Greek fleet at Salamis 11  
 1; and Themistocles at Sala-  
 mis 11 3; receives the first  
 prize for valour at Sparta  
 17 2  
 Euterpe, acc. to some authori-  
 ties, mother of Themistocles  
 1 2

## F

Female names, neuter termina-  
 tion of 1 1  
 future participle of purpose  
 (passive) 23 3; (active) 4 5,  
 19 1, 27 2, 30 1; future op-  
 tative in indirect discourse  
 25 2, 29 4; future indic. in  
 a relative clause expressing  
 purpose 29 3

## G

Genitive, absolute 7 1; with  
 the omission of subject 9 3;  
 partitive 5 1, 7 4, 8 2, 23 3;  
 after verb 10 3, 26 1; instead  
 of the accusative of reference  
 1 1; of material 7 4, 8 2;  
 objective 9 2, 10 5; choro-  
 graphic 8 2 3; prefixed to  
 the substantive on which it  
 depends 3 2  
 Gorgon's head (!), the, from  
 the statue of Athene 10 4

## H

Halicarnassus in Caria, accord-  
 ing to some authorities, the  
 birthplace of the mother of  
 Them. 1 2  
 Hellenes) (Athenians 7 2  
 Hellespont, the 16 1  
 Heracles, gymnasium of 1 2;  
 temple of 13 1  
 Hermione in Argolis 5 2  
 Herodotus misrepresented by  
 Plutarch 7 3; a statement  
 of his criticised by him 17 1  
 Hestiaea 8 2  
 Hieron of Syracuse, and The-  
 mistocles 24 3; sends horses  
 to compete at Olympia 25 1

I

- Iacchus 15 1  
 Iälýsus 21 2  
 imperfect of attempt 7 1; imp.  
 ind. with *äv* 29 4; imp. in-  
 finitive 4 3  
 infinitive in indirect discourse  
 13 2; with *äv* 23 3; of pur-  
 pose 4 5  
 inscription on one of the col-  
 umns of the temple of Ar-  
 temis at Artemisium 8 3  
 Isthmus (of Corinth) 9 2  
 Italia, one of Themistocles'  
 daughters 32 1

L

- Lacedaemonians, their propo-  
 sal to exclude the medising  
 Greeks from the Amphic-  
 tyonic league opposed by  
 Them. 20 1  
 Lampsacus, birthplace of Cha-  
 ron 27 1; its revenues as-  
 signed to Them. 29 4  
 Lato 21 2  
 Laurium, revenue from the  
 silver mines of 4 1  
 Leobotes, prosecutor of The-  
 mistocles for treason 23 1  
 Leonidas, defeat of 8 3  
 Leontis, one of the Attic phylae  
 1 1  
 Leontocephalon 30 1  
 Leotychides 21 2  
 Lesbos, Phaniás of 7 4  
 Leucas 24 1  
 Lycomedes, an Athenian trier-  
 arch, his dedication of the  
 ensign taken from a Persian  
 ship to Apollo 15 2  
 Lycomidae, the, ancestors of  
 Themistocles 1 3  
 Lysander, father-in-law of  
 Themistocles 32 1

M

- Magnesia on the Maeander,  
 assigned to Them. as a resi-  
 dence 29 4, 30 2; he dies  
 there 31 4, 32 1; his monu-  
 ment there 32 2; honours  
 paid to the descendants of  
 Them. at 32 4  
 Marathon, battle of 3 3  
 Mardonius, why he was left  
 behind by Xerxes 4 5, 16 3  
 Melissus, the physical philo-  
 sopher, not the teacher of  
 Themistocles 2 4; defended  
 Samos against Pericles 2 3  
 Melite, dedication of temple by  
 Them. at 22 1  
 metaphors from the gymna-  
 sium 3 4  
 middle causative 4 1, 5 4  
 Miltiades 3 3; his opposition  
 to Them. 4 4  
 Mithropaustes 29 3  
 Mnesiphilus 2 4  
 Mnesiptolema, one of Them-  
 istocles' daughters by his  
 second marriage 30 1, 32 1  
 Molossians 24 2  
 Myus, its revenues assigned to  
 Them. 29 4

N

- Naval service, a type of adven-  
 ture, acc. to Plato 4 3  
 Naxos, siege of, by the Athe-  
 nians 25 1  
 negative to be evolved from  
 positive 11 2, 12 1  
 Neocles, father of Them. 1 1;  
 eldest son of Them. 32 1 2  
 Nicagoras of Troezen, psephism  
 proposed by 10 3  
 [Nichol, Professor, his poem  
 on the death of Them. 2 6]

P

Nicogenes 26 1

Nicomache, one of Themistocles' daughters, married to her cousin Phrasicles 32 1

Nicomedes, son-in-law of Themistocles 32 1

## O

Oath, a solemn form of 17 1

Olbius 26 1

Olizon 8 2

Olympia, rivalry between Themistocles and Cimon at 5 2; Them. the hero of Salamis at 17 2, 25 1

Olympian games 17 2

omen before the battle of Salamis 13 2

optative in indirect questions 25 1 2; of indefinite frequency 29 4

ostracism 5 4, 22 2

## P

Paeania 14 3

Pagasae 20 1

Palaescepsis, its revenues assigned to Them. 29 4

Panaetius 12 3

Panathenaic festival, galley-races a part of 32 4

Panthoides, son-in-law of Them. 32 1

Paralos, the sacred vessel 7 4

participle expressing the leading idea 31 2; causal 2 6, 7 1; conditional 5 4, 18 2; attributive, peculiar position of 8 2; imperfect conative 2 6; future, to denote purpose 4 2, 7 1, 12 1, 27 2

passive perfect of *τιθημι* 18 1

Pausanias 23 1; Themistocles compromised by the detection of treason of 23 2; death of 23 3

pavilions, richly furnished for the accommodation of visitors at the Olympic games 5 2

Pelagon 7 3

Peloponnesians, their resolve to abandon Salamis 12 1

Percote, its revenues assigned to Themistocles 29 4

Pericles, much younger than Themistocles, a constant companion of Anaxagoras 2 3

*Persae*, the play of Aeschylus, quotation from 14 1

Persia, the king of, a Zeus on earth 27 2

Persians 4 2; the number of their vessels at Salamis 14 1; rout of the Persians 15 1; their jealousy about women 26 2

personal for impersonal construction 6 1, 24 2

Phalerum 12 1

Philides 5 1

Phlya, an Attic deme 1 3, 15 2

Phocis, invasion of, by Xerxes 9 2

Phrasicles, nephew of Them. 32 1

Phrearroi, the deme of Them. and of Mnesiphilus 1 1, 2 4, 5 3

Phrygia, Upper 30 1

Phrynichus 5 3

Phthia, wife of Admetus 24 3

physicists, the 2 3

Piraeus, the peninsula of 10 4, 19 2 3, 32 3

Pisidians 30 1 2

Plataea, battle of (*Πλαταιῶν*) 16 3

Plato 32 1  
 plurals of abstract nouns, common in late Greek 2 1, 8 1  
 Pnyx, βῆμα in the, made by the Thirty Tyrants to face in a contrary direction to the older one 19 3, 32 1  
 Polyarchus 19 1  
 Polyeuctus, a son of Them. 32 1  
 Poseidon and Athene 19 2  
 predicate accusative 2 4  
     adjective 2 3, 7 3, 8 3, 10 1, 10 5, 14 2  
     participle 28 1, 31 4  
 prepositions with temporal particles, ἄχρι νῦν 10 5; ἐκπαλαι 30 1  
 protasis in conditional sentence contained in the participle 18 3  
 Pydna, Them. embarks for Asia from 25 1  
 Pylagorai, the 20 2  
 Pythodorus 26 1

R

Roxanes, a Persian military officer, his sneer on Themistocles 29 1

S

Sacrifice, feasting at 5 1  
 Salamina, the sacred galley 7 4  
 Salamis 10 5; supernatural appearance before the battle of 15 1; victory at, due to the judgment of Them. 15 2  
 Samos, defended by Melissus against Pericles 2 3  
 Sandaunce, sister of Xerxes 13 2  
 Sardis 29 3, 31 1  
 Sciathos 7 3

Seriphos, anecdote of Them. and an inhabitant of 18 2  
 Sicinnus, the story of, and Them. 12 2  
 Simonides of Ceos, Themistocles' reply to 5 4, 15 2  
 slaves, different kinds of 26 3  
 Socles of the deme Paeania, distinguishes himself at the battle of Salamis 14 3  
 Solon 2 4  
 sophists, corrupters of political philosophy 2 4  
 Stesilaos 3 2  
 subject, indefinite 22 1; referred to an implied object 21 2; subject, anticipation of 11 4  
 subjunctive, deliberative 27 3; with ὅπως after a verb of striving 12 3  
 suicides, punishment of 22 1  
 Sybaris, one of Themistocles' daughters 32 1  
 synizesis 21 2

T

Tempe 7 1  
 Tenos 12 3  
 Thebes, policy of, in Persian war 20 2  
 Themistocles, of the deme Phrearroi 1 1, 5 3; his parentage 1 1; lineage 1 3; his boyhood and youth 2 3; was he solemnly renounced by his father? 2 6; discouraged by his father from political life 2 6; origin of his early ambition 3 1; his dislike for Aristides 3 2; formed himself on the model of Mnesiphilus 2 4; false report about his being the occasion of his mother's death 2 6; opposed



to Miltiades 4 4; did he injure the Athenian constitution by his reforms, a question for philosophers 4 3; his ostentation 5 2; obtains a prize as choregus, when the *Phoenissae* (?) of Phrynichus was acted 5 3; his great popularity, due to what causes 5 4; procures the ostracism of Aristides 5 4; Plutarch's story of his treatment of the man who spoke Greek and Persian, mythical 6 2; appointed strategus 7 1; his advice to the Greeks at first rejected 7 1; leads the Greek army to Tempe 7 1; prevails upon the Greeks to stay and fight at Artemisium 7 1; yields to the pretensions of the Spartans 7 2; his inscribed invitations to the Ionians under Xerxes 9 1; has recourse to oracles and supernatural signs to prevail on the Greeks 10 1; his psephism about the removal of the population from Athens 10 2; proposes a decree for the restoration of the temporary exiles 11 1; opposes the removal of the Greek fleet from Salamis to the isthmus of Corinth 11 2; and Eurybiades at Salamis 11 3; his menace to him to retire with the Greek squadron unless a battle were to be fought at Salamis 11 3; his message to Xerxes before the battle of Salamis 12 2; his interview with Aristides 12 3; sacrifices three Persian captives, nephews of the Shah 13 2; his second mes-

sage to Xerxes after the battle of Salamis 16 2; receives the second votes of all the chiefs for the second prize of skill and wisdom 17 1; honours rendered to him after the battle of Salamis at Olympia and elsewhere 17 2; his ambition shown by notable apophthegms recorded of him 18; stratagem of, respecting the fortification of Athens 19 1; his creation of the Piraeus and other schemes for the naval aggrandisement of Athens 19 2; alleged proposal of, to burn all the Grecian ships except the Athenian 20 1; his opposition to the Spartan proposal to reorganize the Amphictyonic Council, to exclude all the Greeks who had taken no part in the Persian war, in consequence of which the Spartans seek to undermine his influence 20 2; denounced by the poet Timocreon for bribery and injustice 20; his imperious conduct in the Archipelago, where he levies fines on the Cyclades 21; waning popularity of, and disgust at his self-glorification at Athens 22 1; while an exile at Argos, compromised by the detection of the criminal intrigues of Pausanias 23 1; outlawed as a traitor 23 3; flight of, to Coreyra, whence he crosses to Epirus and finds hospitable reception at the hearth of Admetus 24 1; apocryphal story about his asking the

daughter of Hieron in marriage 24 3; his wife and family conveyed to Epirus by Epicrates 24 3; embarks at the harbour of Pydna for Asia 25 1; driven to the vicinity of Naxos by stress of weather 25 1; much of his personal property conveyed with him, the rest confiscated 25 2; lands at Cyme 26 1; price set on his head 26 1; escapes to Aegae where he is received by Nicogenes 26 1; his vision there 26 2; conveyed by Nicogenes in a woman's van to Susa 26 2; his interview with Artabanus the king's visir 27 1; gracious reception of, by the youthful king 28; requests permission of him to live for a time in absolute retirement in order to acquire the language and usages of the country 29 2; becomes a personage of decisive influence at court and the king's daily companion 29 3; Magnesia assigned to him as a princely residence, and Myus in Caria, and Lampsacus and Percote on the Hellespont, and Scepsis in Aeolis granted to him with their respective revenues 29 4; conspiracy against him by Epixyes, the satrap of inland Phrygia 30 1; forewarned of it by a vision 30 1; arouses the wrath of the satrap of Sardis by his wish to remove a well-known bronze figure of a female water-bearer to Athens 31 1; seeks the intercession of the women of

the harem 31 2; an object of mistrust and envy 31 2; a combination between the Greeks and Egyptians being feared and active services being expected from him, Themistocles dies at Magnesia by his own hand in his 66th year, whether because he felt unequal to face the difficulty, or from the struggle between patriotism and personal obligations 31 3; stories about the treatment of his remains 32 2; his tomb in Magnesia 32 2; monument on the Piraeus 32 3; coins bearing his name as ruler of Magnesia p. 209; a portrait statuette of, in the sanctuary of Artemis Aristobule, seen by Plutarch at Athens, in which he is made to look like a hero 22 2; his ostracism not intended as a punishment 22 2; remarkable sayings of 2 5, 11 2, 18; anecdotes of 3 3, 5 1, 18; his love of admiration 18 1; honours paid at Magnesia to his descendant Themistocles, a friend and fellow-student of Plutarch's under Ammonius at Athens 32 4; his wife and family 32 1  
Thermopylae, defeat of the Greeks at 9 1  
Thessalians, medism of the 7 1, 20 2  
Thriasian plain, the 15 1  
Timocreon of Rhodes, his lampoon on Themistocles 21 2; his exile 21 3  
Timodemus 18 2  
Troezen, reception of the Athenians at 10 3

214 INDEX III LIST OF AUTHORS QUOTED

Troy, met. from the Wooden Horse of 5 1  
Tyrants, the Thirty, their reason for reversing the original aspect of the bema in the Pnyx 19 3

W

Whole subjoined to part 7 2  
wooden walls, the 10 2

X

Xanthippus, father of Pericles 21 1; story of his dog 10 5  
Xerxes, Themistocles' message to 12 2; at the battle of Salamis 13 1; stories of the

three nephews of, at Salamis 13 2; Themistocles' message to, after the battle of Salamis 16 2; attempts to bridge over the channel between Salamis and the mainland 16 2; hasty retreat of, to Asia 16 3; some authorities tell us that Xerxes was alive when Them. went to Asia after his banishment 27 1

Z

Zandauce, sister of Xerxes 13 2  
Zelea, Arthmius of 6 2  
zeugma 8 3  
Zeus of Dodona 28 2

III LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED BY  
PLUTARCH

*AESCHYLUS* 14 1  
*ACESTODORUS* 13 1  
*ANDOCIDES* 32 2  
*ARISTON OF CEOS* 3 2  
*ARISTOPHANES* 19 3  
*ARISTOTELES* 10 3  
*CHARON* 27 1  
*CLIDEMUS* 10 4  
*CLITARCHUS* 27 1  
*DINON* 27 1  
*DIODORUS* ὁ περιηγητής 32 3  
*EPHORUS* 27 1  
*ERATOSTHENES OF CYRENE* 27 3  
*HERACLIDES* 27 1  
*HERODOTUS* 7 3, 17 1, 21 1

*ION OF CHIOS* 2 3  
*NEANTHES* 1 2, 29 4  
*PHANIAS* 1 2, 7 4, 13 2, 27 3, 29 4  
*PHANODEMUS* 13 1  
[*PHILOCHORUS* 10 5?]  
*PHYLARCHUS* 32 2  
*PINDARUS* 8 2  
*PLATO* (COMICUS) 32 3  
*PLATO* (PHILOSOPHUS) 4 3, 32 1  
*SIMONIDES* 1 3, 15 2  
*STESIMBROTUS* 2 3, 4 4, 24 3  
*THEOPHRASTUS* 25 1 2  
*THEOPOMPUS* 19 1, 25 2, 31 2  
*THUCYDIDES* 25 1, 27 1  
*TIMOCREON* 21 2 3

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

CH. II § 3 l. 23. It may or may not be a fanciful supposition, still it is held by some that Thucydides intentionally referred to Melissus and Anaxagoras and to Mnesiphilus respectively in I 138, 3 where he says of the natural cleverness of Them. *οἰκεία ξυνέσει οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐπιμαθὼν*.

CH. VII § 3 l. 43 *add*: Fink *de Themistoclis aetate etc.* p. 42 proposes to substitute Κλειδῆμος for Ἡρόδοτος, comparing c. 10, 4.

CH. IX § 3 l. 37. The statement of Diodorus (XI 15, 2) agrees with Plutarch's:—*οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διατρίβοντες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεωροῦντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν πυρπολουμένην καὶ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἀκούοντες κατεσκάφθαι, δεινῶς ἠθύμουν*, but Herodotus says nothing on the subject.

CH. XXI § 3 l. 24 *for* ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ *read* ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΣ.

CH. XXV § 2 l. 24 ff. Against these attempts to throw a slur on the selfishness of Themistocles we may place the testimony of Demosthenes *Aristocr.* § 207 *τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν, εἰ τις ἄρα ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὔσαν*, and that of Ps.-Demosth. *Περὶ συντάξεως* § 29:—*ὥστε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν, εἰ τις ἄρ' ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὔσαν*.







